

# Atlantis

## Lost Gospels

Book II

*edited by*  
Jon Gee



# :: Lost Gospels (Books 1&2) ::

## : “Enoch” & “Atlantis” :

*edited by: Jonathan Barlow Gee*

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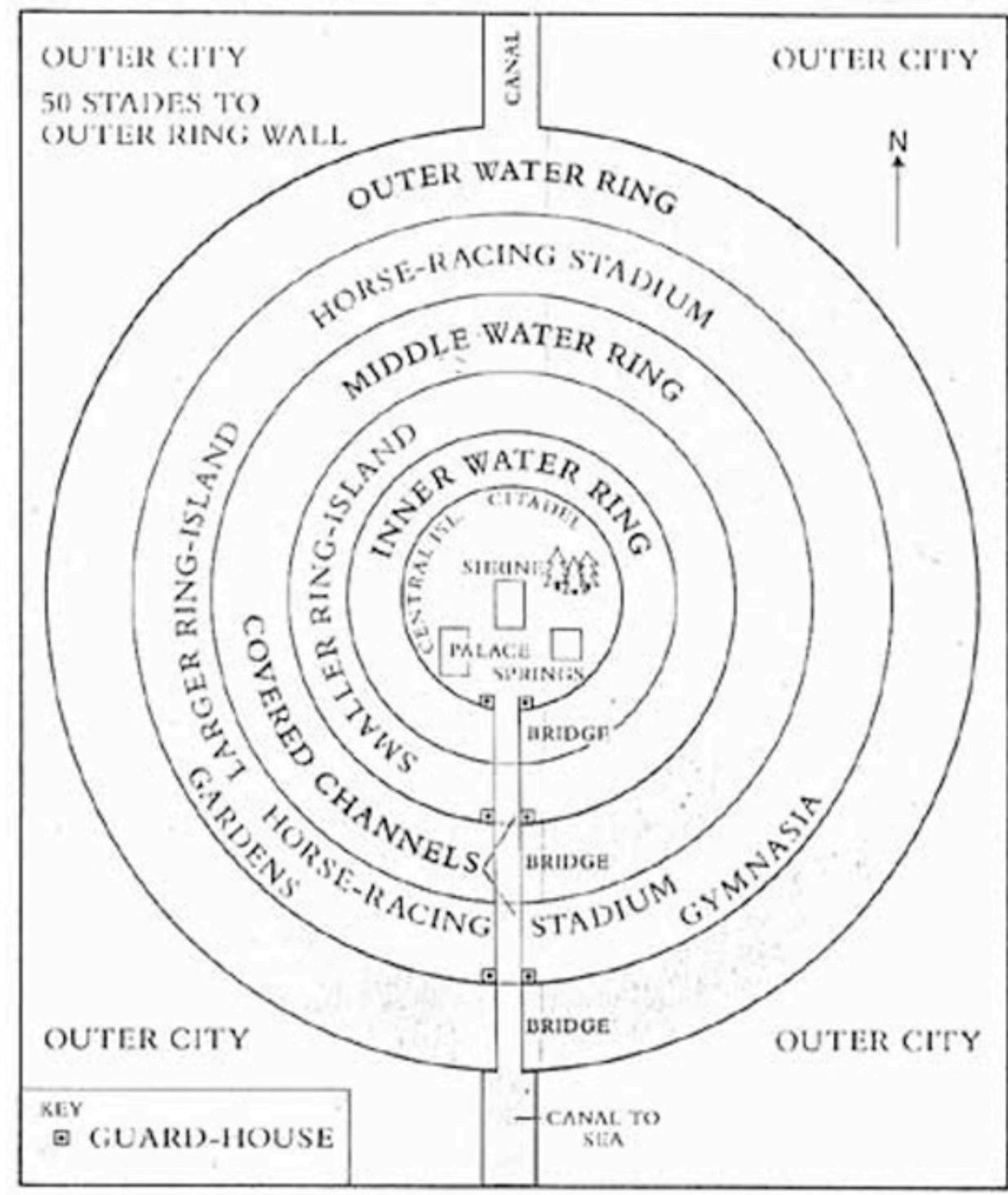
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**Critias**  
By **Plato**  
Written 360 B.C.E.  
*Translated by Benjamin Jowett*

*Persons of the Dialogue*

CRITIAS  
HERMOCRATES  
TIMAEUS  
SOCRATES

Timaeus. How thankful I am, Socrates, that I have arrived at last, and, like a weary traveller after a long journey, may be at rest! And I pray the being who always was of old, and has now been by me revealed, to grant that my words may endure in so far as they have been spoken truly and acceptably to him; but if unintentionally I have said anything wrong, I pray that he will impose upon me a just retribution, and the just retribution of him who errs is that he should be set right. Wishing, then, to speak truly in future concerning the generation of the gods, I pray him to give me knowledge, which of all medicines is the most perfect and best. And now having offered my prayer I deliver up the argument to Critias, who is to speak next according to our agreement.

Critias. And I, Timaeus, accept the trust, and as you at first said that you were going to speak of high matters, and begged that some forbearance might be shown to you, I too ask the same or greater forbearance for what I am about to say. And although I very well know that my request may appear to be somewhat and discourteous, I must make it nevertheless. For will any man of sense deny that you have spoken well? I can only attempt to show that I ought to have more indulgence than you, because my theme is more difficult; and I shall argue that to seem to speak well of the gods to men is far easier than to speak well of men to men: for the inexperience and utter ignorance of his hearers about any subject is a great assistance to him who has to speak of it, and we know how ignorant we are concerning the gods. But I should like to make my meaning clearer, if Timaeus, you will follow me. All that is said by any of us can only be imitation and representation. For if we consider the likenesses which painters make of bodies divine and heavenly, and the different degrees of gratification with which the eye of the spectator receives them, we shall see that we are satisfied with the artist who is able in any degree to imitate the earth and its mountains, and the rivers, and the woods, and the universe, and the things that are and move therein, and further, that knowing nothing precise about such matters, we do not examine or analyze the painting; all that is required is a sort of indistinct and deceptive mode of shadowing them forth. But when a person endeavours to paint the human form we are quick at finding out defects, and our familiar knowledge makes us severe judges of any one who does not render every point of similarity. And we may observe the same thing to happen in discourse; we are satisfied with a picture of divine and heavenly things which has very little likeness to them; but we are more precise in our criticism of mortal and human things. Wherefore if at the moment of speaking I cannot suitably express my meaning, you must excuse me, considering that to form approved likenesses of human things is the reverse of easy. This is what I want to suggest to you, and at the same time to beg, Socrates, that I may have not less, but more indulgence conceded to me in what I am about to say. Which favour, if I am right in asking, I hope that you will be ready to grant.

Socrates. Certainly, Critias, we will grant your request, and we will grant the same by anticipation to Hermocrates, as well as to you and Timaeus; for I have no doubt that when his turn comes a little while hence, he will make the same request which you have made. In order, then, that he may provide himself with a fresh beginning, and not be compelled to say the same things over again, let him understand that the indulgence is already extended by anticipation to him. And now, friend Critias, I will announce to you the judgment of the theatre. They are of opinion that the last performer was wonderfully successful, and that you will need a great deal of

indulgence before you will be able to take his place.

Hermocrates. The warning, Socrates, which you have addressed to him, I must also take to myself. But remember, Critias, that faint heart never yet raised a trophy; and therefore you must go and attack the argument like a man. First invoke Apollo and the Muses, and then let us hear you sound the praises and show forth the virtues of your ancient citizens.

Crit. Friend Hermocrates, you, who are stationed last and have another in front of you, have not lost heart as yet; the gravity of the situation will soon be revealed to you; meanwhile I accept your exhortations and encouragements. But besides the gods and goddesses whom you have mentioned, I would specially invoke Mnemosyne; for all the important part of my discourse is dependent on her favour, and if I can recollect and recite enough of what was said by the priests and brought hither by Solon, I doubt not that I shall satisfy the requirements of this theatre. And now, making no more excuses, I will proceed.

Let me begin by observing first of all, that nine thousand was the sum of years which had elapsed since the war which was said to have taken place between those who dwelt outside the Pillars of Heracles and all who dwelt within them; this war I am going to describe. Of the combatants on the one side, the city of Athens was reported to have been the leader and to have fought out the war; the combatants on the other side were commanded by the kings of Atlantis, which, as was saying, was an island greater in extent than Libya and Asia, and when afterwards sunk by an earthquake, became an impassable barrier of mud to voyagers sailing from hence to any part of the ocean. The progress of the history will unfold the various nations of barbarians and families of Hellenes which then existed, as they successively appear on the scene; but I must describe first of all Athenians of that day, and their enemies who fought with them, and then the respective powers and governments of the two kingdoms. Let us give the precedence to Athens.

In the days of old the gods had the whole earth distributed among them by allotment. There was no quarrelling; for you cannot rightly suppose that the gods did not know what was proper for each of them to have, or, knowing this, that they would seek to procure for themselves by contention that which more properly belonged to others. They all of them by just apportionment obtained what they wanted, and peopled their own districts; and when they had peopled them they tended us, their nurselings and possessions, as shepherds tend their flocks, excepting only that they did not use blows or bodily force, as shepherds do, but governed us like pilots from the stern of the vessel, which is an easy way of guiding animals, holding our souls by the rudder of persuasion according to their own pleasure;-thus did they guide all mortal creatures. Now different gods had their allotments in different places which they set in order. Hephaestus and Athene, who were brother and sister, and sprang from the same father, having a common nature, and being united also in the love of philosophy and art, both obtained as their common portion this land, which was naturally adapted for wisdom and virtue; and there they implanted brave children of the soil, and put into their minds the order of government; their names are preserved, but their actions have disappeared by reason of the destruction of those who received the tradition, and the lapse of ages. For when there were any survivors, as I have already said, they were men who dwelt in the mountains; and they were ignorant of the art of writing, and had heard only the names of the chiefs of the land, but very little about their actions. The names they were willing enough to give to their children; but the virtues and the laws of their predecessors, they knew only by obscure traditions; and as they themselves and their children lacked for many generations the necessaries of life, they directed their attention to the supply of their wants, and of them they conversed, to the neglect of events that had happened in times long past; for mythology and the enquiry into antiquity are first introduced into cities when they begin to have leisure, and when they see that the necessities of life have already been provided, but not before. And this is reason why the names of the ancients have been preserved to us and not their actions. This I infer because Solon said that the priests in their narrative of that war mentioned most of the names which are recorded prior to the time of Theseus, such as Cecrops, and Erechtheus, and Erichthonius, and

Erysichthon, and the names of the women in like manner. Moreover, since military pursuits were then common to men and women, the men of those days in accordance with the custom of the time set up a figure and image of the goddess in full armour, to be a testimony that all animals which associate together, male as well as female, may, if they please, practise in common the virtue which belongs to them without distinction of sex.

Now the country was inhabited in those days by various classes of citizens;-there were artisans, and there were husbandmen, and there was also a warrior class originally set apart by divine men. The latter dwelt by themselves, and had all things suitable for nurture and education; neither had any of them anything of their own, but they regarded all that they had as common property; nor did they claim to receive of the other citizens anything more than their necessary food. And they practised all the pursuits which we yesterday described as those of our imaginary guardians. Concerning the country the Egyptian priests said what is not only probable but manifestly true, that the boundaries were in those days fixed by the Isthmus, and that in the direction of the continent they extended as far as the heights of Cithaeron and Parnes; the boundary line came down in the direction of the sea, having the district of Oropus on the right, and with the river Asopus as the limit on the left. The land was the best in the world, and was therefore able in those days to support a vast army, raised from the surrounding people. Even the remnant of Attica which now exists may compare with any region in the world for the variety and excellence of its fruits and the suitableness of its pastures to every sort of animal, which proves what I am saying; but in those days the country was fair as now and yielded far more abundant produce. How shall I establish my words? and what part of it can be truly called a remnant of the land that then was? The whole country is only a long promontory extending far into the sea away from the rest of the continent, while the surrounding basin of the sea is everywhere deep in the neighbourhood of the shore. Many great deluges have taken place during the nine thousand years, for that is the number of years which have elapsed since the time of which I am speaking; and during all this time and through so many changes, there has never been any considerable accumulation of the soil coming down from the mountains, as in other places, but the earth has fallen away all round and sunk out of sight. The consequence is, that in comparison of what then was, there are remaining only the bones of the wasted body, as they may be called, as in the case of small islands, all the richer and softer parts of the soil having fallen away, and the mere skeleton of the land being left. But in the primitive state of the country, its mountains were high hills covered with soil, and the plains, as they are termed by us, of Phelleus were full of rich earth, and there was abundance of wood in the mountains. Of this last the traces still remain, for although some of the mountains now only afford sustenance to bees, not so very long ago there were still to be seen roofs of timber cut from trees growing there, which were of a size sufficient to cover the largest houses; and there were many other high trees, cultivated by man and bearing abundance of food for cattle. Moreover, the land reaped the benefit of the annual rainfall, not as now losing the water which flows off the bare earth into the sea, but, having an abundant supply in all places, and receiving it into herself and treasuring it up in the close clay soil, it let off into the hollows the streams which it absorbed from the heights, providing everywhere abundant fountains and rivers, of which there may still be observed sacred memorials in places where fountains once existed; and this proves the truth of what I am saying.

Such was the natural state of the country, which was cultivated, as we may well believe, by true husbandmen, who made husbandry their business, and were lovers of honour, and of a noble nature, and had a soil the best in the world, and abundance of water, and in the heaven above an excellently attempered climate. Now the city in those days was arranged on this wise. In the first place the Acropolis was not as now. For the fact is that a single night of excessive rain washed away the earth and laid bare the rock; at the same time there were earthquakes, and then occurred the extraordinary inundation, which was the third before the great destruction of Deucalion. But in primitive times the hill of the Acropolis extended to the Eridanus and Ilissus, and included the Pnyx on one side, and the Lycabettus as a boundary on the opposite side to the Pnyx, and was all well covered with soil, and level at the top, except in one or two places. Outside the Acropolis

and under the sides of the hill there dwelt artisans, and such of the husbandmen as were tilling the ground near; the warrior class dwelt by themselves around the temples of Athene and Hephaestus at the summit, which moreover they had enclosed with a single fence like the garden of a single house. On the north side they had dwellings in common and had erected halls for dining in winter, and had all the buildings which they needed for their common life, besides temples, but there was no adorning of them with gold and silver, for they made no use of these for any purpose; they took a middle course between meanness and ostentation, and built modest houses in which they and their children's children grew old, and they handed them down to others who were like themselves, always the same. But in summer-time they left their gardens and gymnasia and dining halls, and then the southern side of the hill was made use of by them for the same purpose. Where the Acropolis now is there was a fountain, which was choked by the earthquake, and has left only the few small streams which still exist in the vicinity, but in those days the fountain gave an abundant supply of water for all and of suitable temperature in summer and in winter. This is how they dwelt, being the guardians of their own citizens and the leaders of the Hellenes, who were their willing followers. And they took care to preserve the same number of men and women through all time, being so many as were required for warlike purposes, then as now—that is to say, about twenty thousand. Such were the ancient Athenians, and after this manner they righteously administered their own land and the rest of Hellas; they were renowned all over Europe and Asia for the beauty of their persons and for the many virtues of their souls, and of all men who lived in those days they were the most illustrious. And next, if I have not forgotten what I heard when I was a child, I will impart to you the character and origin of their adversaries. For friends should not keep their stories to themselves, but have them in common.

Yet, before proceeding further in the narrative, I ought to warn you, that you must not be surprised if you should perhaps hear Hellenic names given to foreigners. I will tell you the reason of this: Solon, who was intending to use the tale for his poem, enquired into the meaning of the names, and found that the early Egyptians in writing them down had translated them into their own language, and he recovered the meaning of the several names and when copying them out again translated them into our language. My great-grandfather, Dropides, had the original writing, which is still in my possession, and was carefully studied by me when I was a child. Therefore if you hear names such as are used in this country, you must not be surprised, for I have told how they came to be introduced. The tale, which was of great length, began as follows:-

I have before remarked in speaking of the allotments of the gods, that they distributed the whole earth into portions differing in extent, and made for themselves temples and instituted sacrifices. And Poseidon, receiving for his lot the island of Atlantis, begat children by a mortal woman, and settled them in a part of the island, which I will describe. Looking towards the sea, but in the centre of the whole island, there was a plain which is said to have been the fairest of all plains and very fertile. Near the plain again, and also in the centre of the island at a distance of about fifty stadia, there was a mountain not very high on any side.

In this mountain there dwelt one of the earth born primeval men of that country, whose name was Evenor, and he had a wife named Leucippe, and they had an only daughter who was called Cleito. The maiden had already reached womanhood, when her father and mother died; Poseidon fell in love with her and had intercourse with her, and breaking the ground, inclosed the hill in which she dwelt all round, making alternate zones of sea and land larger and smaller, encircling one another; there were two of land and three of water, which he turned as with a lathe, each having its circumference equidistant every way from the centre, so that no man could get to the island, for ships and voyages were not as yet. He himself, being a god, found no difficulty in making special arrangements for the centre island, bringing up two springs of water from beneath the earth, one of warm water and the other of cold, and making every variety of food to spring up abundantly from the soil. He also begat and brought up five pairs of twin male children; and dividing the island of Atlantis into ten portions, he gave to the first-born of the eldest pair his mother's dwelling and the surrounding allotment, which was the largest and best, and made him king over

the rest; the others he made princes, and gave them rule over many men, and a large territory. And he named them all; the eldest, who was the first king, he named Atlas, and after him the whole island and the ocean were called Atlantic. To his twin brother, who was born after him, and obtained as his lot the extremity of the island towards the Pillars of Heracles, facing the country which is now called the region of Gades in that part of the world, he gave the name which in the Hellenic language is Eumelus, in the language of the country which is named after him, Gadeirus. Of the second pair of twins he called one Ampheres, and the other Evaemon. To the elder of the third pair of twins he gave the name Mneseus, and Autochthon to the one who followed him. Of the fourth pair of twins he called the elder Elasippus, and the younger Mestor. And of the fifth pair he gave to the elder the name of Azaes, and to the younger that of Diaprepes. All these and their descendants for many generations were the inhabitants and rulers of divers islands in the open sea; and also, as has been already said, they held sway in our direction over the country within the Pillars as far as Egypt and Tyrrhenia.

Now Atlas had a numerous and honourable family, and they retained the kingdom, the eldest son handing it on to his eldest for many generations; and they had such an amount of wealth as was never before possessed by kings and potentates, and is not likely ever to be again, and they were furnished with everything which they needed, both in the city and country. For because of the greatness of their empire many things were brought to them from foreign countries, and the island itself provided most of what was required by them for the uses of life. In the first place, they dug out of the earth whatever was to be found there, solid as well as fusile, and that which is now only a name and was then something more than a name, orichalcum, was dug out of the earth in many parts of the island, being more precious in those days than anything except gold. There was an abundance of wood for carpenter's work, and sufficient maintenance for tame and wild animals. Moreover, there were a great number of elephants in the island; for as there was provision for all other sorts of animals, both for those which live in lakes and marshes and rivers, and also for those which live in mountains and on plains, so there was for the animal which is the largest and most voracious of all. Also whatever fragrant things there now are in the earth, whether roots, or herbage, or woods, or essences which distil from fruit and flower, grew and thrived in that land; also the fruit which admits of cultivation, both the dry sort, which is given us for nourishment and any other which we use for food-we call them all by the common name pulse, and the fruits having a hard rind, affording drinks and meats and ointments, and good store of chestnuts and the like, which furnish pleasure and amusement, and are fruits which spoil with keeping, and the pleasant kinds of dessert, with which we console ourselves after dinner, when we are tired of eating-all these that sacred island which then beheld the light of the sun, brought forth fair and wondrous and in infinite abundance. With such blessings the earth freely furnished them; meanwhile they went on constructing their temples and palaces and harbours and docks. And they arranged the whole country in the following manner:

First of all they bridged over the zones of sea which surrounded the ancient metropolis, making a road to and from the royal palace. And at the very beginning they built the palace in the habitation of the god and of their ancestors, which they continued to ornament in successive generations, every king surpassing the one who went before him to the utmost of his power, until they made the building a marvel to behold for size and for beauty. And beginning from the sea they bored a canal of three hundred feet in width and one hundred feet in depth and fifty stadia in length, which they carried through to the outermost zone, making a passage from the sea up to this, which became a harbour, and leaving an opening sufficient to enable the largest vessels to find ingress. Moreover, they divided at the bridges the zones of land which parted the zones of sea, leaving room for a single trireme to pass out of one zone into another, and they covered over the channels so as to leave a way underneath for the ships; for the banks were raised considerably above the water. Now the largest of the zones into which a passage was cut from the sea was three stadia in breadth, and the zone of land which came next of equal breadth; but the next two zones, the one of water, the other of land, were two stadia, and the one which surrounded the central island was a stadium only in width. The island in which the palace was situated had a diameter of

five stadia. All this including the zones and the bridge, which was the sixth part of a stadium in width, they surrounded by a stone wall on every side, placing towers and gates on the bridges where the sea passed in. The stone which was used in the work they quarried from underneath the centre island, and from underneath the zones, on the outer as well as the inner side. One kind was white, another black, and a third red, and as they quarried, they at the same time hollowed out double docks, having roofs formed out of the native rock. Some of their buildings were simple, but in others they put together different stones, varying the colour to please the eye, and to be a natural source of delight. The entire circuit of the wall, which went round the outermost zone, they covered with a coating of brass, and the circuit of the next wall they coated with tin, and the third, which encompassed the citadel, flashed with the red light of orichalcum.

The palaces in the interior of the citadel were constructed on this wise: in the centre was a holy temple dedicated to Cleito and Poseidon, which remained inaccessible, and was surrounded by an enclosure of gold; this was the spot where the family of the ten princes first saw the light, and thither the people annually brought the fruits of the earth in their season from all the ten portions, to be an offering to each of the ten. Here was Poseidon's own temple which was a stadium in length, and half a stadium in width, and of a proportionate height, having a strange barbaric appearance. All the outside of the temple, with the exception of the pinnacles, they covered with silver, and the pinnacles with gold. In the interior of the temple the roof was of ivory, curiously wrought everywhere with gold and silver and orichalcum; and all the other parts, the walls and pillars and floor, they coated with orichalcum. In the temple they placed statues of gold: there was the god himself standing in a chariot—the charioteer of six winged horses—and of such a size that he touched the roof of the building with his head; around him there were a hundred Nereids riding on dolphins, for such was thought to be the number of them by the men of those days. There were also in the interior of the temple other images which had been dedicated by private persons. And around the temple on the outside were placed statues of gold of all the descendants of the ten kings and of their wives, and there were many other great offerings of kings and of private persons, coming both from the city itself and from the foreign cities over which they held sway. There was an altar too, which in size and workmanship corresponded to this magnificence, and the palaces, in like manner, answered to the greatness of the kingdom and the glory of the temple.

In the next place, they had fountains, one of cold and another of hot water, in gracious plenty flowing; and they were wonderfully adapted for use by reason of the pleasantness and excellence of their waters. They constructed buildings about them and planted suitable trees, also they made cisterns, some open to the heavens, others roofed over, to be used in winter as warm baths; there were the kings' baths, and the baths of private persons, which were kept apart; and there were separate baths for women, and for horses and cattle, and to each of them they gave as much adornment as was suitable. Of the water which ran off they carried some to the grove of Poseidon, where were growing all manner of trees of wonderful height and beauty, owing to the excellence of the soil, while the remainder was conveyed by aqueducts along the bridges to the outer circles; and there were many temples built and dedicated to many gods; also gardens and places of exercise, some for men, and others for horses in both of the two islands formed by the zones; and in the centre of the larger of the two there was set apart a race-course of a stadium in width, and in length allowed to extend all round the island, for horses to race in. Also there were guardhouses at intervals for the guards, the more trusted of whom were appointed to keep watch in the lesser zone, which was nearer the Acropolis while the most trusted of all had houses given them within the citadel, near the persons of the kings. The docks were full of triremes and naval stores, and all things were quite ready for use. Enough of the plan of the royal palace.

Leaving the palace and passing out across the three you came to a wall which began at the sea and went all round: this was everywhere distant fifty stadia from the largest zone or harbour, and enclosed the whole, the ends meeting at the mouth of the channel which led to the sea. The entire area was densely crowded with habitations; and the canal and the largest of the harbours were full of vessels and merchants coming from all parts, who, from their numbers, kept up a multitudinous

sound of human voices, and din and clatter of all sorts night and day.

I have described the city and the environs of the ancient palace nearly in the words of Solon, and now I must endeavour to represent the nature and arrangement of the rest of the land. The whole country was said by him to be very lofty and precipitous on the side of the sea, but the country immediately about and surrounding the city was a level plain, itself surrounded by mountains which descended towards the sea; it was smooth and even, and of an oblong shape, extending in one direction three thousand stadia, but across the centre inland it was two thousand stadia. This part of the island looked towards the south, and was sheltered from the north. The surrounding mountains were celebrated for their number and size and beauty, far beyond any which still exist, having in them also many wealthy villages of country folk, and rivers, and lakes, and meadows supplying food enough for every animal, wild or tame, and much wood of various sorts, abundant for each and every kind of work.

I will now describe the plain, as it was fashioned by nature and by the labours of many generations of kings through long ages. It was for the most part rectangular and oblong, and where falling out of the straight line followed the circular ditch. The depth, and width, and length of this ditch were incredible, and gave the impression that a work of such extent, in addition to so many others, could never have been artificial. Nevertheless I must say what I was told. It was excavated to the depth of a hundred, feet, and its breadth was a stadium everywhere; it was carried round the whole of the plain, and was ten thousand stadia in length. It received the streams which came down from the mountains, and winding round the plain and meeting at the city, was there let off into the sea. Further inland, likewise, straight canals of a hundred feet in width were cut from it through the plain, and again let off into the ditch leading to the sea: these canals were at intervals of a hundred stadia, and by them they brought down the wood from the mountains to the city, and conveyed the fruits of the earth in ships, cutting transverse passages from one canal into another, and to the city. Twice in the year they gathered the fruits of the earth-in winter having the benefit of the rains of heaven, and in summer the water which the land supplied by introducing streams from the canals.

As to the population, each of the lots in the plain had to find a leader for the men who were fit for military service, and the size of a lot was a square of ten stadia each way, and the total number of all the lots was sixty thousand. And of the inhabitants of the mountains and of the rest of the country there was also a vast multitude, which was distributed among the lots and had leaders assigned to them according to their districts and villages. The leader was required to furnish for the war the sixth portion of a war-chariot, so as to make up a total of ten thousand chariots; also two horses and riders for them, and a pair of chariot-horses without a seat, accompanied by a horseman who could fight on foot carrying a small shield, and having a charioteer who stood behind the man-at-arms to guide the two horses; also, he was bound to furnish two heavy armed soldiers, two slingers, three stone-shooters and three javelin-men, who were light-armed, and four sailors to make up the complement of twelve hundred ships. Such was the military order of the royal city-the order of the other nine governments varied, and it would be wearisome to recount their several differences.

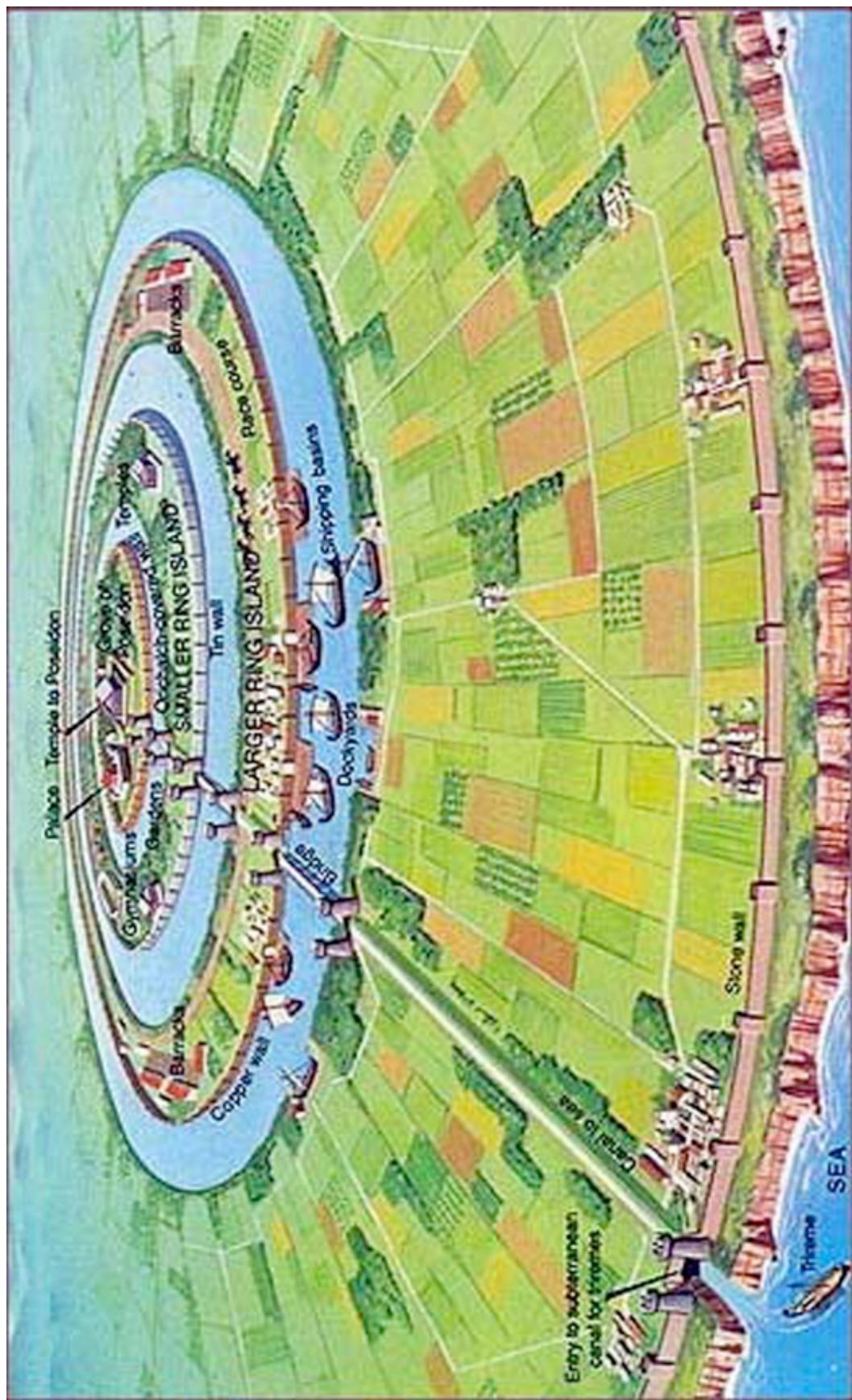
As to offices and honours, the following was the arrangement from the first. Each of the ten kings in his own division and in his own city had the absolute control of the citizens, and, in most cases, of the laws, punishing and slaying whomsoever he would. Now the order of precedence among them and their mutual relations were regulated by the commands of Poseidon which the law had handed down. These were inscribed by the first kings on a pillar of orichalcum, which was situated in the middle of the island, at the temple of Poseidon, whither the kings were gathered together every fifth and every sixth year alternately, thus giving equal honour to the odd and to the even number. And when they were gathered together they consulted about their common interests, and enquired if any one had transgressed in anything and passed judgment and before they passed judgment they gave their pledges to one another on this wise:-There were bulls who

had the range of the temple of Poseidon; and the ten kings, being left alone in the temple, after they had offered prayers to the god that they might capture the victim which was acceptable to him, hunted the bulls, without weapons but with staves and nooses; and the bull which they caught they led up to the pillar and cut its throat over the top of it so that the blood fell upon the sacred inscription. Now on the pillar, besides the laws, there was inscribed an oath invoking mighty curses on the disobedient. When therefore, after slaying the bull in the accustomed manner, they had burnt its limbs, they filled a bowl of wine and cast in a clot of blood for each of them; the rest of the victim they put in the fire, after having purified the column all round. Then they drew from the bowl in golden cups and pouring a libation on the fire, they swore that they would judge according to the laws on the pillar, and would punish him who in any point had already transgressed them, and that for the future they would not, if they could help, offend against the writing on the pillar, and would neither command others, nor obey any ruler who commanded them, to act otherwise than according to the laws of their father Poseidon. This was the prayer which each of them offered up for himself and for his descendants, at the same time drinking and dedicating the cup out of which he drank in the temple of the god; and after they had supped and satisfied their needs, when darkness came on, and the fire about the sacrifice was cool, all of them put on most beautiful azure robes, and, sitting on the ground, at night, over the embers of the sacrifices by which they had sworn, and extinguishing all the fire about the temple, they received and gave judgment, if any of them had an accusation to bring against any one; and when they given judgment, at daybreak they wrote down their sentences on a golden tablet, and dedicated it together with their robes to be a memorial.

There were many special laws affecting the several kings inscribed about the temples, but the most important was the following: They were not to take up arms against one another, and they were all to come to the rescue if any one in any of their cities attempted to overthrow the royal house; like their ancestors, they were to deliberate in common about war and other matters, giving the supremacy to the descendants of Atlas. And the king was not to have the power of life and death over any of his kinsmen unless he had the assent of the majority of the ten.

Such was the vast power which the god settled in the lost island of Atlantis; and this he afterwards directed against our land for the following reasons, as tradition tells: For many generations, as long as the divine nature lasted in them, they were obedient to the laws, and well-affectioned towards the god, whose seed they were; for they possessed true and in every way great spirits, uniting gentleness with wisdom in the various chances of life, and in their intercourse with one another. They despised everything but virtue, caring little for their present state of life, and thinking lightly of the possession of gold and other property, which seemed only a burden to them; neither were they intoxicated by luxury; nor did wealth deprive them of their self-control; but they were sober, and saw clearly that all these goods are increased by virtue and friendship with one another, whereas by too great regard and respect for them, they are lost and friendship with them. By such reflections and by the continuance in them of a divine nature, the qualities which we have described grew and increased among them; but when the divine portion began to fade away, and became diluted too often and too much with the mortal admixture, and the human nature got the upper hand, they then, being unable to bear their fortune, behaved unseemly, and to him who had an eye to see grew visibly debased, for they were losing the fairest of their precious gifts; but to those who had no eye to see the true happiness, they appeared glorious and blessed at the very time when they were full of avarice and unrighteous power. Zeus, the god of gods, who rules according to law, and is able to see into such things, perceiving that an honourable race was in a woeful plight, and wanting to inflict punishment on them, that they might be chastened and improve, collected all the gods into their most holy habitation, which, being placed in the centre of the world, beholds all created things. And when he had called them together, he spake as follows-\* The rest of the Dialogue of Critias has been lost.

THE END





UTOPIA  
by SIR THOMAS MORE

BOOK I

HENRY VIII, the unconquered King of England, a prince adorned with all the virtues that become a great monarch, having some differences of no small consequence with Charles, the most serene Prince of Castile, sent me into Flanders, as his ambassador, for treating and composing matters between them. I was colleague and companion to that incomparable man Cuthbert Tonstal, whom the King with such universal applause lately made Master of the Rolls, but of whom I will say nothing; not because I fear that the testimony of a friend will be suspected, but rather because his learning and virtues are too great for me to do them justice, and so well known that they need not my commendations unless I would, according to the proverb, "Show the sun with a lanthorn." Those that were appointed by the Prince to treat with us, met us at Bruges, according to agreement; they were all worthy men. The Margrave of Bruges was their head, and the chief man among them; but he that was esteemed the wisest, and that spoke for the rest, was George Temse, the Provost of Casselsee; both art and nature had concurred to make him eloquent: he was very learned in the law; and as he had a great capacity, so by a long practice in affairs he was very dexterous at unravelling them.

After we had several times met without coming to an agreement, they went to Brussels for some days to know the Prince's pleasure. And since our business would admit it, I went to Antwerp. While I was there, among many that visited me, there was one that was more acceptable to me than any other, Peter Giles, born at Antwerp, who is a man of great honor, and of a good rank in his town, though less than he deserves; for I do not know if there be anywhere to be found a more learned and a better bred young man: for as he is both a very worthy and a very knowing person, so he is so civil to all men, so particularly kind to his friends, and so full of candor and affection, that there is not perhaps above one or two anywhere to be found that are in all respects so perfect a friend. He is extraordinarily modest, there is no artifice in him; and yet no man has more of a prudent simplicity: his conversation was so pleasant and so innocently cheerful, that his company in a great measure lessened any longings to go back to my country, and to my wife and children, which an absence of four months had quickened very much. One day as I was returning home from mass at St. Mary's, which is the chief church, and the most frequented of any in Antwerp, I saw him by accident talking with a stranger, who seemed past the flower of his age; his face was tanned, he had a long beard, and his cloak was hanging carelessly about him, so that by his looks and habit I concluded he was a seaman.

As soon as Peter saw me, he came and saluted me; and as I was returning his civility, he took me aside, and pointing to him with whom he had been discoursing, he said: "Do you see that man? I was just thinking to bring him to you."

I answered, "He should have been very welcome on your account."

"And on his own too," replied he, "if you knew the man, for there is none alive that can give so copious an account of unknown nations and countries as he can do; which I know you very much desire."

Then said I, "I did not guess amiss, for at first sight I took him for a seaman."

"But you are much mistaken," said he, "for he has not sailed as a seaman, but as a traveller, or rather a philosopher. This Raphael, who from his family carries the name of Hythlodaeus, is not ignorant of the Latin tongue, but is eminently learned in the Greek, having applied himself more particularly to that than to the former, because he had given himself much to philosophy, in which he knew that the Romans have left us nothing that is valuable, except what is to be found in Seneca and Cicero. He is a Portuguese by birth, and was so desirous of seeing the world that he

divided his estate among his brothers, ran the same hazard as Americus Vespuclius, and bore a share in three of his four voyages, that are now published; only he did not return with him in his last, but obtained leave of him almost by force, that he might be one of those twenty-four who were left at the farthest place at which they touched, in their last voyage to New Castile. The leaving him thus did not a little gratify one that was more fond of travelling than of returning home to be buried in his own country; for he used often to say that the way to heaven was the same from all places; and he that had no grave had the heaven still over him. Yet this disposition of mind had cost him dear, if God had not been very gracious to him; for after he, with five Castilians, had travelled over many countries, at last, by strange good-fortune, he got to Ceylon, and from thence to Calicut, where he very happily found some Portuguese ships, and, beyond all men's expectations, returned to his native country."

When Peter had said this to me, I thanked him for his kindness, in intending to give me the acquaintance of a man whose conversation he knew would be so acceptable; and upon that Raphael and I embraced each other. After those civilities were passed which are usual with strangers upon their first meeting, we all went to my house, and entering into the garden, sat down on a green bank, and entertained one another in discourse. He told us that when Vespuclius had sailed away, he and his companions that stayed behind in New Castile, by degrees insinuated themselves into the affections of the people of the country, meeting often with them, and treating them gently: and at last they not only lived among them without danger, but conversed familiarly with them; and got so far into the heart of a prince, whose name and country I have forgot, that he both furnished them plentifully with all things necessary, and also with the conveniences of travelling; both boats when they went by water, and wagons when they travelled over land: he sent with them a very faithful guide, who was to introduce and recommend them to such other princes as they had a mind to see: and after many days' journey, they came to towns and cities, and to commonwealths, that were both happily governed and well-peopled. Under the equator, and as far on both sides of it as the sun moves, there lay vast deserts that were parched with the perpetual heat of the sun; the soil was withered, all things looked dismally, and all places were either quite uninhabited, or abounded with wild beasts and serpents, and some few men that were neither less wild nor less cruel than the beasts themselves.

But as they went farther, a new scene opened, all things grew milder, the air less burning, the soil more verdant, and even the beasts were less wild: and at last there were nations, towns, and cities, that had not only mutual commerce among themselves, and with their neighbors, but traded both by sea and land, to very remote countries. There they found the conveniences of seeing many countries on all hands, for no ship went any voyage into which he and his companions were not very welcome. The first vessels that they saw were flat-bottomed, their sails were made of reeds and wicker woven close together, only some were of leather; but afterward they found ships made with round keels and canvas sails, and in all respects like our ships; and the seamen understood both astronomy and navigation. He got wonderfully into their favor, by showing them the use of the needle, of which till then they were utterly ignorant. They sailed before with great caution, and only in summer-time, but now they count all seasons alike, trusting wholly to the loadstone, in which they are perhaps more secure than safe; so that there is reason to fear that this discovery, which was thought would prove so much to their advantage, may by their imprudence become an occasion of much mischief to them. But it were too long to dwell on all that he told us he had observed in every place, it would be too great a digression from our present purpose: whatever is necessary to be told, concerning those wise and prudent institutions which he observed among civilized nations, may perhaps be related by us on a more proper occasion. We asked him many questions concerning all these things, to which he answered very willingly; only we made no inquiries after monsters, than which nothing is more common; for everywhere one may hear of ravenous dogs and wolves, and cruel man-eaters; but it is not so easy to find States that are well and wisely governed.

As he told us of many things that were amiss in those new-discovered countries, so he reckoned

up not a few things from which patterns might be taken for correcting the errors of these nations among whom we live; of which an account may be given, as I have already promised, at some other time; for at present I intend only to relate those particulars that he told us of the manners and laws of the Utopians: but I will begin with the occasion that led us to speak of that commonwealth. After Raphael had discoursed with great judgment on the many errors that were both among us and these nations; had treated of the wise institutions both here and there, and had spoken as distinctly of the customs and government of every nation through which he had passed, as if he had spent his whole life in it, Peter, being struck with admiration, said: "I wonder, Raphael, how it comes that you enter into no king's service, for I am sure there are none to whom you would not be very acceptable: for your learning and knowledge both of men and things, are such that you would not only entertain them very pleasantly, but be of great use to them, by the examples you could set before them and the advices you could give them; and by this means you would both serve your own interest and be of great use to all your friends."

"As for my friends," answered he, "I need not be much concerned, having already done for them all that was incumbent on me; for when I was not only in good health, but fresh and young, I distributed that among my kindred and friends which other people do not part with till they are old and sick, when they then unwillingly give that which they can enjoy no longer themselves. I think my friends ought to rest contented with this, and not to expect that for their sake I should enslave myself to any king whatsoever."

"Soft and fair," said Peter, "I do not mean that you should be a slave to any king, but only that you should assist them, and be useful to them."

"The change of the word," said he, "does not alter the matter."

"But term it as you will," replied Peter, "I do not see any other way in which you can be so useful, both in private to your friends, and to the public, and by which you can make your own condition happier."

"Happier!" answered Raphael; "is that to be compassed in a way so abhorrent to my genius? Now I live as I will, to which I believe few courtiers can pretend. And there are so many that court the favor of great men, that there will be no great loss if they are not troubled either with me or with others of my temper."

Upon this, said I: "I perceive, Raphael, that you neither desire wealth nor greatness; and indeed I value and admire such a man much more than I do any of the great men in the world. Yet I think you would do what would well become so generous and philosophical a soul as yours is, if you would apply your time and thoughts to public affairs, even though you may happen to find it a little uneasy to yourself: and this you can never do with so much advantage, as by being taken into the counsel of some great prince, and putting him on noble and worthy actions, which I know you would do if you were in such a post; for the springs both of good and evil flow from the prince, over a whole nation, as from a lasting fountain. So much learning as you have, even without practice in affairs, or so great a practice as you have had, without any other learning, would render you a very fit counsellor to any king whatsoever."

"You are doubly mistaken," said he, "Mr. More, both in your opinion of me, and in the judgment you make of things: for as I have not that capacity that you fancy I have, so, if I had it, the public would not be one jot the better, when I had sacrificed my quiet to it. For most princes apply themselves more to affairs of war than to the useful arts of peace; and in these I neither have any knowledge, nor do I much desire it: they are generally more set on acquiring new kingdoms, right or wrong, than on governing well those they possess. And among the ministers of princes, there are none that are not so wise as to need no assistance, or at least that do not think themselves so wise that they imagine they need none; and if they court any, it is only those for whom the prince

has much personal favor, whom by their fawnings and flatteries they endeavor to fix to their own interests: and indeed Nature has so made us that we all love to be flattered, and to please ourselves with our own notions. The old crow loves his young, and the ape her cubs. Now if in such a court, made up of persons who envy all others, and only admire themselves, a person should but propose anything that he had either read in history or observed in his travels, the rest would think that the reputation of their wisdom would sink, and that their interest would be much depressed, if they could not run it down: and if all other things failed, then they would fly to this, that such or such things pleased our ancestors, and it were well for us if we could but match them. They would set up their rest on such an answer, as a sufficient confutation of all that could be said, as if it were a great misfortune, that any should be found wiser than his ancestors; but though they willingly let go all the good things that were among those of former ages, yet if better things are proposed they cover themselves obstinately with this excuse of reverence to past times. I have met with these proud, morose, and absurd judgments of things in many places, particularly once in England."

"Were you ever there?" said I.

"Yes, I was," answered he, "and stayed some months there not long after the rebellion in the west was suppressed with a great slaughter of the poor people that were engaged in it. I was then much obliged to that reverend prelate, John Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury, Cardinal, and Chancellor of England: a man," said he, "Peter (for Mr. More knows well what he was), that was not less venerable for his wisdom and virtues than for the high character he bore. He was of a middle stature, not broken with age; his looks begot reverence rather than fear; his conversation was easy, but serious and grave; he sometimes took pleasure to try the force of those that came as suitors to him upon business, by speaking sharply though decently to them, and by that he discovered their spirit and presence of mind, with which he was much delighted, when it did not grow up to impudence, as bearing a great resemblance to his own temper; and he looked on such persons as the fittest men for affairs. He spoke both gracefully and weightily; he was eminently skilled in the law, had a vast understanding and a prodigious memory; and those excellent talents with which nature had furnished him were improved by study and experience. When I was in England the King depended much on his counsels, and the government seemed to be chiefly supported by him; for from his youth he had been all along practised in affairs; and having passed through many traverses of fortune, he had with great cost acquired a vast stock of wisdom, which is not soon lost when it is purchased so dear.

"One day when I was dining with him there happened to be at table one of the English lawyers, who took occasion to run out in a high commendation of the severe execution of justice upon thieves, who, as he said, were then hanged so fast that there were sometimes twenty on one gibbet; and upon that he said he could not wonder enough how it came to pass, that since so few escaped, there were yet so many thieves left who were still robbing in all places. Upon this, I who took the boldness to speak freely before the cardinal, said there was no reason to wonder at the matter, since this way of punishing thieves was neither just in itself nor good for the public; for as the severity was too great, so the remedy was not effectual; simple theft not being so great a crime that it ought to cost a man his life, no punishment how severe soever being able to restrain those from robbing who can find out no other way of livelihood. 'In this,' said I, 'not only you in England, but a great part of the world imitate some ill masters that are readier to chastise their scholars than to teach them. There are dreadful punishments enacted against thieves, but it were much better to make such good provisions by which every man might be put in a method how to live, and so be preserved from the fatal necessity of stealing and of dying for it.'

"There has been care enough taken for that," said he, 'there are many handicrafts, and there is husbandry, by which they may make a shift to live unless they have a greater mind to follow ill courses.'

"'That will not serve your turn,' said I, 'for many lose their limbs in civil or foreign wars, as lately in the Cornish rebellion, and some time ago in your wars with France, who being thus mutilated in the service of their king and country, can no more follow their old trades, and are too old to learn new ones: but since wars are only accidental things, and have intervals, let us consider those things that fall out every day. There is a great number of noblemen among you, that are themselves as idle as drones, that subsist on other men's labor, on the labor of their tenants, whom, to raise their revenues, they pare to the quick. This indeed is the only instance of their frugality, for in all other things they are prodigal, even to the beggaring of themselves: but besides this, they carry about with them a great number of idle fellows, who never learned any art by which they may gain their living; and these, as soon as either their lord dies or they themselves fall sick, are turned out of doors; for your lords are readier to feed idle people than to take care of the sick; and often the heir is not able to keep together so great a family as his predecessor did. Now when the stomachs of those that are thus turned out of doors grow keen, they rob no less keenly; and what else can they do? for when, by wandering about, they have worn out both their health and their clothes, and are tattered, and look ghastly, men of quality will not entertain them, and poor men dare not do it, knowing that one who has been bred up in idleness and pleasure, and who was used to walk about with his sword and buckler, despising all the neighborhood with an insolent scorn as far below him, is not fit for the spade and mattock: nor will he serve a poor man for so small a hire, and in so low a diet as he can afford to give him.'

"To this he answered: 'This sort of men ought to be particularly cherished, for in them consists the force of the armies for which we have occasion; since their birth inspires them with a nobler sense of honor than is to be found among tradesmen or ploughmen.'

"'You may as well say,' replied I, 'that you must cherish thieves on the account of wars, for you will never want the one as long as you have the other; and as robbers prove sometimes gallant soldiers, so soldiers often prove brave robbers; so near an alliance there is between those two sorts of life. But this bad custom, so common among you, of keeping many servants, is not peculiar to this nation. In France there is yet a more pestiferous sort of people, for the whole country is full of soldiers, still kept up in time of peace, if such a state of a nation can be called a peace: and these are kept in pay upon the same account that you plead for those idle retainers about noblemen; this being a maxim of those pretended statesmen that it is necessary for the public safety to have a good body of veteran soldiers ever in readiness. They think raw men are not to be depended on, and they sometimes seek occasions for making war, that they may train up their soldiers in the art of cutting throats; or as Sallust observed, for keeping their hands in use, that they may not grow dull by too long an intermission. But France has learned to its cost how dangerous it is to feed such beasts.'

"The fate of the Romans, Carthaginians, and Syrians, and many other nations and cities, which were both overturned and quite ruined by those standing armies, should make others wiser: and the folly of this maxim of the French appears plainly even from this, that their trained soldiers often find your raw men prove too hard for them; of which I will not say much, lest you may think I flatter the English. Every day's experience shows that the mechanics in the towns, or the clowns in the country, are not afraid of fighting with those idle gentlemen, if they are not disabled by some misfortune in their body, or dispirited by extreme want, so that you need not fear that those well-shaped and strong men (for it is only such that noblemen love to keep about them, till they spoil them) who now grow feeble with ease, and are softened with their effeminate manner of life, would be less fit for action if they were well bred and well employed. And it seems very unreasonable that for the prospect of a war, which you need never have but when you please, you should maintain so many idle men, as will always disturb you in time of peace, which is ever to be more considered than war. But I do not think that this necessity of stealing arises only from hence; there is another cause of it more peculiar to England.'

"'What is that?' said the cardinal.

"The increase of pasture,' said I, 'by which your sheep, which are naturally mild, and easily kept in order, may be said now to devour men, and unpeople, not only villages, but towns; for wherever it is found that the sheep of any soil yield a softer and richer wool than ordinary, there the nobility and gentry, and even those holy men the abbots, not contented with the old rents which their farms yielded, nor thinking it enough that they, living at their ease, do no good to the public, resolve to do it hurt instead of good. They stop the course of agriculture, destroying houses and towns, reserving only the churches, and enclose grounds that they may lodge their sheep in them. As if forests and parks had swallowed up too little of the land, those worthy countrymen turn the best inhabited places in solitudes, for when an insatiable wretch, who is a plague to his country, resolves to enclose many thousand acres of ground, the owners as well as tenants are turned out of their possessions, by tricks, or by main force, or being wearied out with ill-usage, they are forced to sell them. By which means those miserable people, both men and women, married and unmarried, old and young, with their poor but numerous families (since country business requires many hands), are all forced to change their seats, not knowing whither to go; and they must sell almost for nothing their household stuff, which could not bring them much money, even though they might stay for a buyer. When that little money is at an end, for it will be soon spent, what is left for them to do, but either to steal and so to be hanged (God knows how justly), or to go about and beg? And if they do this, they are put in prison as idle vagabonds; while they would willingly work, but can find none that will hire them; for there is no more occasion for country labor, to which they have been bred, when there is no arable ground left. One shepherd can look after a flock which will stock an extent of ground that would require many hands if it were to be ploughed and reaped. This likewise in many places raises the price of corn.

"The price of wool is also so risen that the poor people who were wont to make cloth are no more able to buy it; and this likewise makes many of them idle. For since the increase of pasture, God has punished the avarice of the owners by a rot among the sheep, which has destroyed vast numbers of them; to us it might have seemed more just had it fell on the owners themselves. But suppose the sheep should increase ever so much, their price is not like to fall; since though they cannot be called a monopoly, because they are not engrossed by one person, yet they are in so few hands, and these are so rich, that as they are not pressed to sell them sooner than they have a mind to it, so they never do it till they have raised the price as high as possible. And on the same account it is, that the other kinds of cattle are so dear, because many villages being pulled down, and all country labor being much neglected, there are none who make it their business to breed them. The rich do not breed cattle as they do sheep, but buy them lean, and at low prices; and after they have fattened them on their grounds sell them again at high rates. And I do not think that all the inconveniences this will produce are yet observed, for as they sell the cattle dear, so if they are consumed faster than the breeding countries from which they are brought can afford them, then the stock must decrease, and this must needs end in great scarcity; and by these means this your island, which seemed as to this particular the happiest in the world, will suffer much by the cursed avarice of a few persons; besides this, the rising of corn makes all people lessen their families as much as they can; and what can those who are dismissed by them do, but either beg or rob? And to this last, a man of a great mind is much sooner drawn than to the former.

"Luxury likewise breaks in apace upon you, to set forward your poverty and misery; there is an excessive vanity in apparel, and great cost in diet; and that not only in noblemen's families, but even among tradesmen, among the farmers themselves, and among all ranks of persons. You have also many infamous houses, and, besides those that are known, the taverns and alehouses are no better; add to these, dice, cards, tables, foot-ball, tennis, and quoits, in which money runs fast away; and those that are initiated into them, must in the conclusion betake themselves to robbing for a supply. Banish these plagues, and give orders that those who have dispeopled so much soil, may either rebuild the villages they have pulled down, or let out their grounds to such as will do it: restrain those engrossings of the rich, that are as bad almost as monopolies; leave fewer occasions to idleness; let agriculture be set up again, and the manufacture of the wool be

regulated, that so there may be work found for those companies of idle people whom want forces to be thieves, or who, now being idle vagabonds or useless servants, will certainly grow thieves at last. If you do not find a remedy to these evils, it is a vain thing to boast of your severity in punishing theft, which though it may have the appearance of justice, yet in itself is neither just nor convenient. For if you suffer your people to be ill-educated, and their manners to be corrupted from their infancy, and then punish them for those crimes to which their first education disposed them, what else is to be concluded from this, but that you first make thieves and then punish them ?'

"While I was talking thus, the counsellor who was present had prepared an answer, and had resolved to resume all I had said, according to the formality of a debate, in which things are generally repeated more faithfully than they are answered; as if the chief trial to be made were of men's memories.

"'You have talked prettily for a stranger,' said he, 'having heard of many things among us which you have not been able to consider well; but I will make the whole matter plain to you, and will first repeat in order all that you have said, then I will show how much your ignorance of our affairs has misled you, and will in the last place answer all your arguments. And that I may begin where I promised, there were four things--'

"'Hold your peace,' said the cardinal; 'this will take up too much time; therefore we will at present ease you of the trouble of answering, and reserve it to our next meeting, which shall be to-morrow, if Raphael's affairs and yours can admit of it. But, Raphael,' said he to me, 'I would gladly know upon what reason it is that you think theft ought not to be punished by death? Would you give way to it? Or do you propose any other punishment that will be more useful to the public? For since death does not restrain theft, if men thought their lives would be safe, what fear or force could restrain ill men? On the contrary, they would look on the mitigation of the punishment as an invitation to commit more crimes.'

"I answered: 'It seems to me a very unjust thing to take away a man's life for a little money; for nothing in the world can be of equal value with a man's life: and if it is said that it is not for the money that one suffers, but for his breaking the law, I must say extreme justice is an extreme injury; for we ought not to approve of these terrible laws that make the smallest offences capital, nor of that opinion of the Stoicks that makes all crimes equal, as if there were no difference to be made between the killing a man and the taking his purse, between which, if we examine things impartially, there is no likeness nor proportion. God has commanded us not to kill, and shall we kill so easily for a little money? But if one shall say, that by that law we are only forbid to kill any, except when the laws of the land allow of it; upon the same grounds, laws may be made in some cases to allow of adultery and perjury: for God having taken from us the right of disposing, either of our own or of other people's lives, if it is pretended that the mutual consent of man in making laws can authorize manslaughter in cases in which God has given us no example, that it frees people from the obligation of the divine law, and so makes murder a lawful action; what is this, but to give a preference to human laws before the divine?'

"'And if this is once admitted, by the same rule men may in all other things put what restrictions they please upon the laws of God. If by the Mosaical law, though it was rough and severe, as being a yoke laid on an obstinate and servile nation, men were only fined and not put to death for theft, we cannot imagine that in this new law of mercy, in which God treats us with the tenderness of a father, he has given us a greater license to cruelty than he did to the Jews. Upon these reasons it is that I think putting thieves to death is not lawful; and it is plain and obvious that it is absurd, and of ill-consequence to the commonwealth, that a thief and a murderer should be equally punished; for if a robber sees that his danger is the same, if he is convicted of theft as if he were guilty of murder, this will naturally incite him to kill the person whom otherwise he would only have robbed, since if the punishment is the same, there is more security, and less danger of

discovery, when he that can best make it is put out of the way; so that terrifying thieves too much, provokes them to cruelty.

"But as to the question, What more convenient way of punishment can be found? I think it is much more easier to find out that than to invent anything that is worse; why should we doubt but the way that was so long in use among the old Romans, who understood so well the arts of government, was very proper for their punishment? They condemned such as they found guilty of great crimes, to work their whole lives in quarries, or to dig in mines with chains about them. But the method that I liked best, was that which I observed in my travels in Persia, among the Polylerits, who are a considerable and well-governed people. They pay a yearly tribute to the King of Persia; but in all other respects they are a free nation, and governed by their own laws. They lie far from the sea, and are environed with hills; and being contented with the productions of their own country, which is very fruitful, they have little commerce with any other nation; and as they, according to the genius of their country, have no inclination to enlarge their borders; so their mountains, and the pension they pay to the Persians, secure them from all invasions.

"Thus they have no wars among them; they live rather conveniently than with splendor, and may be rather called a happy nation, than either eminent or famous; for I do not think that they are known so much as by name to any but their next neighbors. Those that are found guilty of theft among them are bound to make restitution to the owner, and not as it is in other places, to the prince, for they reckon that the prince has no more right to the stolen goods than the thief; but if that which was stolen is no more in being, then the goods of the thieves are estimated, and restitution being made out of them, the remainder is given to their wives and children: and they themselves are condemned to serve in the public works, but are neither imprisoned, nor chained, unless there happened to be some extraordinary circumstances in their crimes. They go about loose and free, working for the public. If they are idle or backward to work, they are whipped; but if they work hard, they are well used and treated without any mark of reproach, only the lists of them are called always at night, and then they are shut up. They suffer no other uneasiness, but this of constant labor; for as they work for the public, so they are well entertained out of the public stock, which is done differently in different places. In some places, whatever is bestowed on them, is raised by a charitable contribution; and though this way may seem uncertain, yet so merciful are the inclinations of that people, that they are plentifully supplied by it; but in other places, public revenues are set aside for them; or there is a constant tax of a poll-money raised for their maintenance. In some places they are set to no public work, but every private man that has occasion to hire workmen goes to the market-places and hires them of the public, a little lower than he would do a freeman: if they go lazily about their task, he may quicken them with the whip.

"By this means there is always some piece of work or other to be done by them; and beside their livelihood, they earn somewhat still to the public. They all wear a peculiar habit, of one certain color, and their hair is cropped a little above their ears, and a piece of one of their ears is cut off. Their friends are allowed to give them either meat, drink, or clothes so they are of their proper color, but it is death, both to the giver and taker, if they give them money; nor is it less penal for any freeman to take money from them, upon any account whatsoever: and it is also death for any of these slaves (so they are called) to handle arms. Those of every division of the country are distinguished by a peculiar mark; which it is capital for them to lay aside, to go out of their bounds, or to talk with a slave of another jurisdiction; and the very attempt of an escape is no less penal than an escape itself; it is death for any other slave to be accessory to it; and if a freeman engages in it he is condemned to slavery. Those that discover it are rewarded--if freemen, in money; and if slaves, with liberty, together with a pardon for being accessory to it; that so they might find their account, rather in repenting of their engaging in such a design, than in persisting in it.

"These are their laws and rules in relation to robbery, and it is obvious that they are as

advantageous as they are mild and gentle; since vice is not only destroyed, and men preserved, but they treated in such a manner as to make them see the necessity of being honest, and of employing the rest of their lives in repairing the injuries they have formerly done to society. Nor is there any hazard of their falling back to their old customs: and so little do travellers apprehend mischief from them, that they generally make use of them for guides, from one jurisdiction to another; for there is nothing left them by which they can rob, or be the better for it, since, as they are disarmed, so the very having of money is a sufficient conviction: and as they are certainly punished if discovered, so they cannot hope to escape; for their habit being in all the parts of it different from what is commonly worn, they cannot fly away, unless they would go naked, and even then their cropped ear would betray them. The only danger to be feared from them is their conspiring against the government: but those of one division and neighborhood can do nothing to any purpose, unless a general conspiracy were laid among all the slaves of the several jurisdictions, which cannot be done, since they cannot meet or talk together; nor will any venture on a design where the concealment would be so dangerous and the discovery so profitable. None are quite hopeless of recovering their freedom, since by their obedience and patience, and by giving good grounds to believe that they will change their manner of life for the future, they may expect at last to obtain their liberty: and some are every year restored to it, upon the good character that is given of them.'

"When I had related all this, I added that I did not see why such a method might not be followed with more advantage than could ever be expected from that severe justice which the counsellor magnified so much. To this he answered that it could never take place in England without endangering the whole nation. As he said this he shook his head, made some grimaces, and held his peace, while all the company seemed of his opinion, except the cardinal, who said that it was not easy to form a judgment of its success, since it was a method that never yet had been tried.

"'But if,' said he, 'when the sentence of death was passed upon a thief, the prince would reprieve him for a while, and make the experiment upon him, denying him the privilege of a sanctuary; and then if it had a good effect upon him, it might take place; and if it did not succeed, the worst would be, to execute the sentence on the condemned persons at last. And I do not see,' added he, 'why it would be either unjust, inconvenient, or at all dangerous, to admit of such a delay: in my opinion, the vagabonds ought to be treated in the same manner; against whom, though we have made many laws, yet we have not been able to gain our end.' When the cardinal had done, they all commended the motion, though they had despised it when it came from me; but more particularly commended what related to the vagabonds, because it was his own observation.

"I do not know whether it be worth while to tell what followed, for it was very ridiculous; but I shall venture at it, for as it is not foreign to this matter, so some good use may be made of it. There was a jester standing by, that counterfeited the fool so naturally that he seemed to be really one. The jests which he offered were so cold and dull that we laughed more at him than at them; yet sometimes he said, as it were by chance, things that were not unpleasant; so as to justify the old proverb, 'That he who throws the dice often, will sometimes have a lucky hit.' When one of the company had said that I had taken care of the thieves, and the cardinal had taken care of the vagabonds, so that there remained nothing but that some public provision might be made for the poor, whom sickness or old age had disabled from labor, 'Leave that to me,' said the fool, 'and I shall take care of them; for there is no sort of people whose sight I abhor more, having been so often vexed with them, and with their sad complaints; but as dolefully soever as they have told their tale, they could never prevail so far as to draw one penny from me: for either I had no mind to give them anything, or when I had a mind to do it I had nothing to give them: and they now know me so well that they will not lose their labor, but let me pass without giving me any trouble, because they hope for nothing, no more in faith than if I were a priest: but I would have a law made, for sending all these beggars to monasteries, the men to the Benedictines to be made lay-brothers, and the women to be nuns.'

"The cardinal smiled, and approved of it in jest; but the rest liked it in earnest. There was a divine present, who though he was a grave, morose man, yet he was so pleased with this reflection that was made on the priests and the monks, that he began to play with the fool, and said to him, 'This will not deliver you from all beggars, except you take care of us friars.'

"That is done already,' answered the fool, 'for the cardinal has provided for you, by what he proposed for restraining vagabonds, and setting them to work, for I know no vagabonds like you.'

"This was well entertained by the whole company, who, looking at the cardinal, perceived that he was not ill-pleased at it; only the friar himself was vexed, as may be easily imagined, and fell into such a passion that he could not forbear railing at the fool, and calling him knave, slanderer, backbiter, and son of perdition, and then cited some dreadful threatenings out of the Scriptures against him. Now the jester thought he was in his element, and laid about him freely.

"Good friar,' said he, 'be not angry, for it is written, "In patience possess your soul."

"The friar answered (for I shall give you his own words), 'I am not angry, you hangman; at least I do not sin in it, for the Psalmist says, "Be ye angry, and sin not."

"Upon this the cardinal admonished him gently, and wished him to govern his passions.

"No, my lord,' said he, 'I speak not but from a good zeal, which I ought to have; for holy men have had a good zeal, as it is said, "The zeal of thy house hath eaten me up;" and we sing in our church, that those, who mocked Elisha as he went up to the house of God, felt the effects of his zeal; which that mocker, that rogue, that scoundrel, will perhaps feel.'

"You do this perhaps with a good intention,' said the cardinal; 'but in my opinion it were wiser in you, and perhaps better for you, not to engage in so ridiculous a contest with a fool.'

"No, my lord,' answered he, 'that were not wisely done; for Solomon, the wisest of men, said, "Answer a fool according to his folly;" which I now do, and show him the ditch into which he will fall, if he is not aware of it; for if the many mockers of Elisha, who was but one bald man, felt the effect of his zeal, what will become of one mocker of so many friars, among whom there are so many bald men? We have likewise a bull, by which all that jeer us are excommunicated.'

"When the cardinal saw that there was no end of this matter, he made a sign to the fool to withdraw, turned the discourse another way, and soon after rose from the table, and, dismissing us, went to hear causes.

"Thus, Mr. More, I have run out into a tedious story, of the length of which I had been ashamed, if, as you earnestly begged it of me, I had not observed you to hearken to it, as if you had no mind to lose any part of it. I might have contracted it, but I resolved to give it to you at large, that you might observe how those that despised what I had proposed, no sooner perceived that the cardinal did not dislike it, but presently approved of it, fawned so on him, and flattered him to such a degree, that they in good earnest applauded those things that he only liked in jest. And from hence you may gather, how little courtiers would value either me or my counsels."

To this I answered: "You have done me a great kindness in this relation; for as everything has been related by you, both wisely and pleasantly, so you have made me imagine that I was in my own country, and grown young again, by recalling that good cardinal to my thoughts, in whose family I was bred from my childhood: and though you are upon other accounts very dear to me, yet you are the dearer, because you honor his memory so much; but after all this I cannot change my opinion, for I still think that if you could overcome that aversion which you have to the courts of princes, you might, by the advice which it is in your power to give, do a great deal of good to mankind; and

this is the chief design that every good man ought to propose to himself in living; for your friend Plato thinks that nations will be happy, when either philosophers become kings or kings become philosophers, it is no wonder if we are so far from that happiness, while philosophers will not think it their duty to assist kings with their councils.

"They are not so base-minded,' said he, 'but that they would willingly do it: many of them have already done it by their books, if those that are in power would but hearken to their good advice.' But Plato judged right, that except kings themselves became philosophers, they who from their childhood are corrupted with false notions would never fall in entirely with the councils of philosophers, and this he himself found to be true in the person of Dionysius.

"Do not you think that if I were about any king, proposing good laws to him, and endeavoring to root out all the cursed seeds of evil that I found in him, I should either be turned out of his court or at least be laughed at for my pains? For instance, what could it signify if I were about the King of France, and were called into his Cabinet Council, where several wise men, in his hearing, were proposing many expedients, as by what arts and practices Milan may be kept, and Naples, that had so oft slipped out of their hands, recovered; how the Venetians, and after them the rest of Italy, may be subdued; and then how Flanders, Brabant, and all Burgundy, and some other kingdoms which he has swallowed already in his designs, may be added to his empire. One proposes a league with the Venetians, to be kept as long as he finds his account in it, and that he ought to communicate councils with them, and give them some share of the spoil, till his success makes him need or fear them less, and then it will be easily taken out of their hands. Another proposes the hiring the Germans, and the securing the Switzers by pensions. Another proposes the gaining the Emperor by money, which is omnipotent with him. Another proposes a peace with the King of Arragon, and, in order to cement it, the yielding up the King of Navarre's pretensions. Another thinks the Prince of Castile is to be wrought on, by the hope of an alliance; and that some of his courtiers are to be gained to the French faction by pensions. The hardest point of all is what to do with England: a treaty of peace is to be set on foot, and if their alliance is not to be depended on, yet it is to be made as firm as possible; and they are to be called friends, but suspected as enemies: therefore the Scots are to be kept in readiness, to be let loose upon England on every occasion: and some banished nobleman is to be supported underhand (for by the league it cannot be done avowedly) who has a pretension to the crown, by which means that suspected prince may be kept in awe.

"Now when things are in so great a fermentation, and so many gallant men are joining councils, how to carry on the war, if so mean a man as I should stand up, and wish them to change all their councils, to let Italy alone, and stay at home, since the Kingdom of France was indeed greater than could be well governed by one man; that therefore he ought not to think of adding others to it: and if after this, I should propose to them the resolutions of the Achorians, a people that lie on the southeast of Utopia, who long ago engaged in war, in order to add to the dominions of their prince another kingdom, to which he had some pretensions by an ancient alliance. This they conquered, but found that the trouble of keeping it was equal to that by which it was gained; that the conquered people were always either in rebellion or exposed to foreign invasions, while they were obliged to be incessantly at war, either for or against them, and consequently could never disband their army; that in the meantime they were oppressed with taxes, their money went out of the kingdom, their blood was spilt for the glory of their King, without procuring the least advantage to the people, who received not the smallest benefit from it even in time of peace; and that their manners being corrupted by a long war, robbery and murders everywhere abounded, and their laws fell into contempt; while their King, distracted with the care of two kingdoms, was the less able to apply his mind to the interests of either.

"When they saw this, and that there would be no end to these evils, they by joint councils made an humble address to their King, desiring him to choose which of the two kingdoms he had the greatest mind to keep, since he could not hold both; for they were too great a people to be governed

by a divided king, since no man would willingly have a groom that should be in common between him and another. Upon which the good prince was forced to quit his new kingdom to one of his friends (who was not long after dethroned), and to be contented with his old one. To this I would add that after all those warlike attempts, the vast confusions, and the consumption both of treasure and of people that must follow them; perhaps upon some misfortune, they might be forced to throw up all at last; therefore it seemed much more eligible that the King should improve his ancient kingdom all he could, and make it flourish as much as possible; that he should love his people, and be beloved of them; that he should live among them, govern them gently, and let other kingdoms alone, since that which had fallen to his share was big enough, if not too big for him. Pray how do you think would such a speech as this be heard?"

"I confess," said I, "I think not very well."

"But what," said he, "if I should sort with another kind of ministers, whose chief contrivances and consultations were, by what art the prince's treasures might be increased. Where one proposes raising the value of specie when the King's debts are large, and lowering it when his revenues were to come in, that so he might both pay much with a little, and in a little receive a great deal: another proposes a pretence of a war, that money might be raised in order to carry it on, and that a peace be concluded as soon as that was done; and this with such appearances of religion as might work on the people, and make them impute it to the piety of their prince, and to his tenderness for the lives of his subjects. A third offers some old musty laws, that have been antiquated by a long disuse; and which, as they had been forgotten by all the subjects, so they had been also broken by them; and proposes the levying the penalties of these laws, that as it would bring in a vast treasure, so there might be a very good pretence for it, since it would look like the executing a law, and the doing of justice. A fourth proposes the prohibiting of many things under severe penalties, especially such as were against the interest of the people, and then the dispensing with these prohibitions upon great compositions, to those who might find their advantage in breaking them. This would serve two ends, both of them acceptable to many; for as those whose avarice led them to transgress would be severely fined, so the selling licenses dear would look as if a prince were tender of his people, and would not easily, or at low rates, dispense with anything that might be against the public good.

"Another proposes that the judges must be made sure, that they may declare always in favor of the prerogative, that they must be often sent for to court, that the King may hear them argue those points in which he is concerned; since how unjust soever any of his pretensions may be, yet still some one or other of them, either out of contradiction to others or the pride of singularity or to make their court, would find out some pretence or other to give the King a fair color to carry the point: for if the judges but differ in opinion, the clearest thing in the world is made by that means disputable, and truth being once brought in question, the King may then take advantage to expound the law for his own profit; while the judges that stand out will be brought over, either out of fear or modesty; and they being thus gained, all of them may be sent to the bench to give sentence boldly, as the King would have it; for fair pretences will never be wanting when sentence is to be given in the prince's favor. It will either be said that equity lies on his side, or some words in the law will be found sounding that way, or some forced sense will be put on them; and when all other things fail, the King's undoubted prerogative will be pretended, as that which is above all law; and to which a religious judge ought to have a special regard.

"Thus all consent to that maxim of Crassus, that a prince cannot have treasure enough, since he must maintain his armies out of it: that a king, even though he would, can do nothing unjustly; that all property is in him, not excepting the very persons of his subjects: and that no man has any other property, but that which the King out of his goodness thinks fit to leave him. And they think it is the prince's interest, that there be as little of this left as may be, as if it were his advantage that his people should have neither riches nor liberty; since these things make them less easy and less willing to submit to a cruel and unjust government; whereas necessity and

poverty blunt them, make them patient, beat them down, and break that height of spirit, that might otherwise dispose them to rebel. Now what if after all these propositions were made, I should rise up and assert, that such councils were both unbecoming a king, and mischievous to him: and that not only his honor but his safety consisted more in his people's wealth, than in his own; if I should show that they choose a king for their own sake, and not for his; that by his care and endeavors they may be both easy and safe; and that therefore a prince ought to take more care of his people's happiness than of his own, as a shepherd is to take more care of his flock than of himself.

"It is also certain that they are much mistaken that think the poverty of a nation is a means of the public safety. Who quarrel more than beggars? Who does more earnestly long for a change, than he that is uneasy in his present circumstances? And who run to create confusions with so desperate a boldness, as those who have nothing to lose hope to gain by them? If a king should fall under such contempt or envy, that he could not keep his subjects in their duty, but by oppression and ill-usage, and by rendering them poor and miserable, it were certainly better for him to quit his kingdom, than to retain it by such methods, as makes him while he keeps the name of authority, lose the majesty due to it. Nor is it so becoming the dignity of a king to reign over beggars, as over rich and happy subjects. And therefore Fabricius, a man of a noble and exalted temper, said, he would rather govern rich men than be rich himself; since for one man to abound in wealth and pleasure, when all about him are mourning and groaning, is to a gaoler and not a king. He is an unskilful physician, that cannot cure one disease without casting his patient into another: so he that can find no other way for correcting the errors of his people, but by taking from them the conveniences of life, shows that he knows not what it is to govern a free nation. He himself ought rather to shake off his sloth, or to lay down his pride; for the contempt or hatred that his people have for him, takes its rise from the vices in himself. Let him live upon what belongs to him, without wronging others, and accommodate his expense to his revenue. Let him punish crimes, and by his wise conduct let him endeavor to prevent them, rather than be severe when he has suffered them to be too common: let him not rashly revive laws that are abrogated by disuse, especially if they have been long forgotten, and never wanted; and let him never take any penalty for the breach of them, to which a judge would not give way in a private man, but would look on him as a crafty and unjust person for pretending to it.

"To these things I would add that law among the Macarians, a people that live not far from Utopia, by which their King, on the day on which he begins to reign, is tied by an oath confirmed by solemn sacrifices, never to have at once above 1,000 pounds of gold in his treasures, or so much silver as is equal to that in value. This law, they tell us, was made by an excellent king, who had more regard to the riches of his country than to his own wealth, and therefore provided against the heaping up of so much treasure as might impoverish the people. He thought that a moderate sum might be sufficient for any accident, if either the King had occasion for it against rebels, or the kingdom against the invasion of an enemy; but that it was not enough to encourage a prince to invade other men's rights, a circumstance that was the chief cause of his making that law. He also thought that it was a good provision for that free circulation of money, so necessary for the course of commerce and exchange: and when a king must distribute all those extraordinary accessions that increase treasure beyond the due pitch, it makes him less disposed to oppress his subjects. Such a king as this will be the terror of ill men, and will be beloved by all the good.

"If, I say, I should talk of these or such like things, to men that had taken their bias another way, how deaf would they be to all I could say?"

"No doubt, very deaf," answered I; "and no wonder, for one is never to offer at propositions or advice that we are certain will not be entertained. Discourses so much out of the road could not avail anything, nor have any effect on men whose minds were prepossessed with different sentiments. This philosophical way of speculation is not unpleasant among friends in a free conversation, but there is no room for it in the courts of princes where great affairs are carried on

by authority."

"That is what I was saying," replied he, "that there is no room for philosophy in the courts of princes."

"Yes, there is," said I, "but not for this speculative philosophy that makes everything to be alike fitting at all times: but there is another philosophy that is more pliable, that knows its proper scene, accommodates itself to it, and teaches a man with propriety and decency to act that part which has fallen to his share. If when one of Plautus's comedies is upon the stage and a company of servants are acting their parts, you should come out in the garb of a philosopher, and repeat out of 'Octavia,' a discourse of Seneca's to Nero, would it not be better for you to say nothing than by mixing things of such different natures to make an impertinent trag-i-comedy? For you spoil and corrupt the play that is in hand when you mix with it things of an opposite nature, even though they are much better. Therefore go through with the play that is acting, the best you can, and do not confound it because another that is pleasanter comes into your thoughts. It is even so in a commonwealth and in the councils of princes; if ill opinions cannot be quite rooted out, and you cannot cure some received vice according to your wishes, you must not therefore abandon the commonwealth; for the same reasons you should not forsake the ship in a storm because you cannot command the winds. You are not obliged to assault people with discourses that are out of their road, when you see that their received notions must prevent your making an impression upon them. You ought rather to cast about and to manage things with all the dexterity in your power, so that if you are not able to make them go well they may be as little ill as possible; for except all men were good everything cannot be right, and that is a blessing that I do not at present hope to see."

"According to your arguments," answered he, "all that I could be able to do would be to preserve myself from being mad while I endeavored to cure the madness of others; for if I speak truth, I must repeat what I have said to you; and as for lying, whether a philosopher can do it or not, I cannot tell; I am sure I cannot do it. But though these discourses may be uneasy and ungrateful to them, I do not see why they should seem foolish or extravagant: indeed if I should either propose such things as Plato has contrived in his commonwealth, or as the Utopians practise in theirs, though they might seem better, as certainly they are, yet they are so different from our establishment, which is founded on property, there being no such thing among them, that I could not expect that it would have any effect on them; but such discourses as mine, which only call past evils to mind and give warning of what may follow, have nothing in them that is so absurd that they may not be used at any time, for they can only be unpleasant to those who are resolved to run headlong the contrary way; and if we must let alone everything as absurd or extravagant which by reason of the wicked lives of many may seem uncouth, we must, even among Christians, give over pressing the greatest part of those things that Christ hath taught us, though He has commanded us not to conceal them, but to proclaim on the house-tops that which he taught in secret.

"The greatest parts of his precepts are more opposite to the lives of the men of this age than any part of my discourse has been; but the preachers seemed to have learned that craft to which you advise me, for they observing that the world would not willingly suit their lives to the rules that Christ has given, have fitted his doctrine as if it had been a leaden rule, to their lives, that so some way or other they might agree with one another. But I see no other effect of this compliance except it be that men become more secure in their wickedness by it. And this is all the success that I can have in a court, for I must always differ from the rest, and then I shall signify nothing; or if I agree with them, I shall then only help forward their madness. I do not comprehend what you mean by your casting about, or by the bending and handling things so dexterously, that if they go not well they may go as little ill as may be; for in courts they will not bear with a man's holding his peace or conniving at what others do. A man must barefacedly approve of the worst counsels, and consent to the blackest designs: so that he would pass for a spy, or possibly for a

traitor, that did but coldly approve of such wicked practices: and therefore when a man is engaged in such a society, he will be so far from being able to mend matters by his casting about, as you call it, that he will find no occasions of doing any good: the ill company will sooner corrupt him than be the better for him: or if notwithstanding all their ill company, he still remains steady and innocent, yet their follies and knavery will be imputed to him; and by mixing counsels with them, he must bear his share of all the blame that belongs wholly to others.

"It was no ill simile by which Plato set forth the unreasonableness of a philosopher's meddling with government. If a man, says he, was to see a great company run out every day into the rain, and take delight in being wet; if he knew that it would be to no purpose for him to go and persuade them to return to their houses, in order to avoid the storm, and that all that could be expected by his going to speak to them would be that he himself should be as wet as they, it would be best for him to keep within doors; and since he had not influence enough to correct other people's folly, to take care to preserve himself.

"Though to speak plainly my real sentiments, I must freely own that as long as there is any property, and while money is the standard of all other things, I cannot think that a nation can be governed either justly or happily: not justly, because the best things will fall to the share of the worst men; nor happily, because all things will be divided among a few (and even these are not in all respects happy), the rest being left to be absolutely miserable. Therefore when I reflect on the wise and good constitution of the Utopians--among whom all things are so well governed, and with so few laws; where virtue hath its due reward, and yet there is such an equality, that every man lives in plenty -- when I compare with them so many other nations that are still making new laws, and yet can never bring their constitution to a right regulation, where notwithstanding everyone has his property; yet all the laws that they can invent have not the power either to obtain or preserve it, or even to enable men certainly to distinguish what is their own from what is another's; of which the many lawsuits that every day break out, and are eternally depending, give too plain a demonstration; when, I say, I balance all these things in my thoughts, I grow more favorable to Plato, and do not wonder that he resolved not to make any laws for such as would not submit to a community of all things: for so wise a man could not but foresee that the setting all upon a level was the only way to make a nation happy, which cannot be obtained so long as there is property: for when every man draws to himself all that he can compass, by one title or another, it must needs follow, that how plentiful soever a nation may be, yet a few dividing the wealth of it among themselves, the rest must fall into indigence.

"So that there will be two sorts of people among them, who deserve that their fortunes should be interchanged; the former useless, but wicked and ravenous; and the latter, who by their constant industry serve the public more than themselves, sincere and modest men. From whence I am persuaded, that till property is taken away there can be no equitable or just distribution of things, nor can the world be happily governed: for as long as that is maintained, the greatest and the far best part of mankind will be still oppressed with a load of cares and anxieties. I confess without taking it quite away, those pressures that lie on a great part of mankind may be made lighter; but they can never be quite removed. For if laws were made to determine at how great an extent in soil, and at how much money every man must stop, to limit the prince that he might not grow too great, and to restrain the people that they might not become too insolent, and that none might factiously aspire to public employments; which ought neither to be sold, nor made burdensome by a great expense; since otherwise those that serve in them would be tempted to reimburse themselves by cheats and violence, and it would become necessary to find out rich men for undergoing those employments which ought rather to be trusted to the wise--these laws, I say, might have such effects, as good diet and care might have on a sick man, whose recovery is desperate: they might allay and mitigate the disease, but it could never be quite healed, nor the body politic be brought again to a good habit, as long as property remains; and it will fall out as in a complication of diseases, that by applying a remedy to one sore, you will provoke another; and that which removes the one ill symptom produces others, while the strengthening one part of

the body weakens the rest."

"On the contrary," answered I, "it seems to me that men cannot live conveniently where all things are common: how can there be any plenty, where every man will excuse himself from labor? For as the hope of gain doth not excite him, so the confidence that he has in other men's industry may make him slothful: if people come to be pinched with want, and yet cannot dispose of anything as their own; what can follow upon this but perpetual sedition and bloodshed, especially when the reverence and authority due to magistrates fall to the ground? For I cannot imagine how that can be kept up among those that are in all things equal to one another."

"I do not wonder," said he, "that it appears so to you, since you have no notion, or at least no right one, of such a constitution: but if you had been in Utopia with me, and had seen their laws and rules, as I did, for the space of five years, in which I lived among them; and during which time I was so delighted with them, that indeed I should never have left them, if it had not been to make the discovery of that new world to the Europeans; you would then confess that you had never seen a people so well constituted as they."

"You will not easily persuade me," said Peter, "that any nation in that new world is better governed than those among us. For as our understandings are not worse than theirs, so our government, if I mistake not, being more ancient, a long practice has helped us to find out many conveniences of life: and some happy chances have discovered other things to us, which no man's understanding could ever have invented."

"As for the antiquity, either of their government or of ours," said he, "you cannot pass a true judgment of it unless you had read their histories; for if they are to be believed, they had towns among them before these parts were so much as inhabited. And as for those discoveries, that have been either hit on by chance, or made by ingenious men, these might have happened there as well as here. I do not deny but we are more ingenious than they are, but they exceed us much in industry and application. They knew little concerning us before our arrival among them; they call us all by a general name of the nations that lie beyond the equinoctial line; for their chronicle mentions a shipwreck that was made on their coast 1,200 years ago; and that some Romans and Egyptians that were in the ship, getting safe ashore, spent the rest of their days among them; and such was their ingenuity, that from this single opportunity they drew the advantage of learning from those unlooked-for guests, and acquired all the useful arts that were then among the Romans, and which were known to these shipwrecked men: and by the hints that they gave them, they themselves found out even some of those arts which they could not fully explain; so happily did they improve that accident, of having some of our people cast upon their shore.

"But if such an accident has at any time brought any from thence into Europe, we have been so far from improving it, that we do not so much as remember it; as in after-times perhaps it will be forgot by our people that I was ever there. For though they from one such accident made themselves masters of all the good inventions that were among us; yet I believe it would be long before we should learn or put in practice any of the good institutions that are among them. And this is the true cause of their being better governed, and living happier than we, though we come not short of them in point of understanding or outward advantages."

Upon this I said to him: "I earnestly beg you would describe that island very particularly to us. Be not too short, but set out in order all things relating to their soil, their rivers, their towns, their people, their manners, constitution, laws, and, in a word, all that you imagine we desire to know. And you may well imagine that we desire to know everything concerning them, of which we are hitherto ignorant."

"I will do it very willingly," said he, "for I have digested the whole matter carefully; but it will take up some time."

"Let us go then," said I, "first and dine, and then we shall have leisure enough."

He consented. We went in and dined, and after dinner came back and sat down in the same place. I ordered my servants to take care that none might come and interrupt us. And both Peter and I desired Raphael to be as good as his word. When he saw that we were very intent upon it, he paused a little to recollect himself, and began in this manner:

## BOOK II

THE island of Utopia is in the middle 200 miles broad, and holds almost at the same breadth over a great part of it; but it grows narrower toward both ends. Its figure is not unlike a crescent: between its horns, the sea comes in eleven miles broad, and spreads itself into a great bay, which is environed with land to the compass of about 500 miles, and is well secured from winds. In this bay there is no great current; the whole coast is, as it were, one continued harbor, which gives all that live in the island great convenience for mutual commerce; but the entry into the bay, occasioned by rocks on the one hand, and shallows on the other, is very dangerous. In the middle of it there is one single rock which appears above water, and may therefore be easily avoided, and on the top of it there is a tower in which a garrison is kept; the other rocks lie under water, and are very dangerous. The channel is known only to the natives, so that if any stranger should enter into the bay, without one of their pilots, he would run great danger of shipwreck; for even they themselves could not pass it safe, if some marks that are on the coast did not direct their way; and if these should be but a little shifted, any fleet that might come against them, how great soever it were, would be certainly lost.

On the other side of the island there are likewise many harbors; and the coast is so fortified, both by nature and art, that a small number of men can hinder the descent of a great army. But they report (and there remain good marks of it to make it credible) that this was no island at first, but a part of the continent. Utopus that conquered it (whose name it still carries, for Abraxas was its first name) brought the rude and uncivilized inhabitants into such a good government, and to that measure of politeness, that they now far excel all the rest of mankind; having soon subdued them, he designed to separate them from the continent, and to bring the sea quite round them. To accomplish this, he ordered a deep channel to be dug fifteen miles long; and that the natives might not think he treated them like slaves, he not only forced the inhabitants, but also his own soldiers, to labor in carrying it on. As he set a vast number of men to work, he beyond all men's expectations brought it to a speedy conclusion. And his neighbors who at first laughed at the folly of the undertaking, no sooner saw it brought to perfection than they were struck with admiration and terror.

There are fifty-four cities in the island, all large and well built: the manners, customs, and laws of which are the same, and they are all contrived as near in the same manner as the ground on which they stand will allow. The nearest lie at least twenty-four miles distance from one another, and the most remote are not so far distant but that a man can go on foot in one day from it to that which lies next it. Every city sends three of its wisest Senators once a year to Amaurot, to consult about their common concerns; for that is the chief town of the island, being situated near the centre of it, so that it is the most convenient place for their assemblies. The jurisdiction of every city extends at least twenty miles: and where the towns lie wider, they have much more ground: no town desires to enlarge its bounds, for the people consider themselves rather as tenants than landlords. They have built over all the country, farmhouses for husbandmen, which are well contrived, and are furnished with all things necessary for country labor. Inhabitants are sent by turns from the cities to dwell in them; no country family has fewer than forty men and women in it, besides two slaves. There is a master and a mistress set over every family; and over thirty families there is a magistrate.

Every year twenty of this family come back to the town, after they have stayed two years in the country; and in their room there are other twenty sent from the town, that they may learn country work from those that have been already one year in the country, as they must teach those that come to them the next from the town. By this means such as dwell in those country farms are never ignorant of agriculture, and so commit no errors, which might otherwise be fatal, and bring them under a scarcity of corn. But though there is every year such a shifting of the husbandmen, to prevent any man being forced against his will to follow that hard course of life too long, yet many among them take such pleasure in it that they desire leave to continue in it many years. These husbandmen till the ground, breed cattle, hew wood, and convey it to the towns, either by land or water, as is most convenient. They breed an infinite multitude of chickens in a very curious manner; for the hens do not sit and hatch them, but vast numbers of eggs are laid in a gentle and equal heat, in order to be hatched, and they are no sooner out of the shell, and able to stir about, but they seem to consider those that feed them as their mothers, and follow them as other chickens do the hen that hatched them.

They breed very few horses, but those they have are full of mettle, and are kept only for exercising their youth in the art of sitting and riding them; for they do not put them to any work, either of ploughing or carriage, in which they employ oxen; for though their horses are stronger, yet they find oxen can hold out longer; and as they are not subject to so many diseases, so they are kept upon a less charge, and with less trouble; and even when they are so worn out, that they are no more fit for labor, they are good meat at last. They sow no corn, but that which is to be their bread; for they drink either wine, cider, or perry, and often water, sometimes boiled with honey or licorice, with which they abound; and though they know exactly how much corn will serve every town, and all that tract of country which belongs to it, yet they sow much more, and breed more cattle than are necessary for their consumption; and they give that overplus of which they make no use to their neighbors. When they want anything in the country which it does not produce, they fetch that from the town, without carrying anything in exchange for it. And the magistrates of the town take care to see it given them; for they meet generally in the town once a month, upon a festival day. When the time of harvest comes, the magistrates in the country send to those in the towns, and let them know how many hands they will need for reaping the harvest; and the number they call for being sent to them, they commonly despatch it all in one day.

## BOOK II: OF THEIR TOWNS, PARTICULARLY OF AMAUROT

HE that knows one of their towns knows them all, they are so like one another, except where the situation makes some difference. I shall therefore describe one of them; and none is so proper as Amaurot; for as none is more eminent, all the rest yielding in precedence to this, because it is the seat of their Supreme Council, so there was none of them better known to me, I having lived five years altogether in it.

It lies upon the side of a hill, or rather a rising ground: its figure is almost square, for from the one side of it, which shoots up almost to the top of the hill, it runs down in a descent for two miles to the river Anider; but it is a little broader the other way that runs along by the bank of that river. The Anider rises about eighty miles above Amaurot, in a small spring at first, but other brooks falling into it, of which two are more considerable than the rest. As it runs by Amaurot, it is grown half a mile broad; but it still grows larger and larger, till after sixty miles course below it, it is lost in the ocean, between the town and the sea, and for some miles above the town, it ebbs and flows every six hours, with a strong current. The tide comes up for about thirty miles so full that there is nothing but salt water in the river, the fresh water being driven back with its force; and above that, for some miles, the water is brackish; but a little higher, as it runs by the town, it is quite fresh; and when the tide ebbs, it continues fresh all along to the sea. There is a bridge cast over the river, not of timber, but of fair stone, consisting of many stately arches; it lies at that part of the town which is farthest from the sea, so that ships without any hinderance lie all along the side of the town.

There is likewise another river that runs by it, which, though it is not great, yet it runs pleasantly, for it rises out of the same hill on which the town stands, and so runs down through it, and falls into the Anider. The inhabitants have fortified the fountain-head of this river, which springs a little without the town; so that if they should happen to be besieged, the enemy might not be able to stop or divert the course of the water, nor poison it; from thence it is carried in earthen pipes to the lower streets; and for those places of the town to which the water of that shall river cannot be conveyed, they have great cisterns for receiving the rain-water, which supplies the want of the other. The town is compassed with a high and thick wall, in which there are many towers and forts; there is also a broad and deep dry ditch, set thick with thorns, cast round three sides of the town, and the river is instead of a ditch on the fourth side. The streets are very convenient for all carriage, and are well sheltered from the winds. Their buildings are good, and are so uniform that a whole side of a street looks like one house. The streets are twenty feet broad; there lie gardens behind all their houses; these are large but enclosed with buildings that on all hands face the streets; so that every house has both a door to the street, and a back door to the garden. Their doors have all two leaves, which, as they are easily opened, so they shut of their own accord; and there being no property among them, every man may freely enter into any house whatsoever. At every ten years' end they shift their houses by lots.

They cultivate their gardens with great care, so that they have vines, fruits, herbs, and flowers in them; and all is so well ordered, and so finely kept, that I never saw gardens anywhere that were both so fruitful and so beautiful as theirs. And this humor of ordering their gardens so well is not only kept up by the pleasure they find in it, but also by an emulation between the inhabitants of the several streets, who vie with each other; and there is indeed nothing belonging to the whole town that is both more useful and more pleasant. So that he who founded the town seems to have taken care of nothing more than of their gardens; for they say, the whole scheme of the town was designed at first by Utopus, but he left all that belonged to the ornament and improvement of it to be added by those that should come after him, that being too much for one man to bring to perfection. Their records, that contain the history of their town and State, are preserved with an exact care, and run backward 1,760 years. From these it appears that their houses were at first low and mean, like cottages, made of any sort of timber, and were built with mud walls and thatched with straw. But now their houses are three stories high: the fronts of them are faced with stone, plastering, or brick; and between the facings of their walls they throw in their rubbish. Their roofs are flat, and on them they lay a sort of plaster, which costs very little, and yet is so tempered that it is not apt to take fire, and yet resists the weather more than lead. They have great quantities of glass among them, with which they glaze their windows. They use also in their windows a thin linen cloth, that is so oiled or gummed that it both keeps out the wind and gives free admission to the light.

## BOOK II: OF THEIR MAGISTRATES

THIRTY families choose every year a magistrate, who was anciently called the syphigrant, but is now called the philarch; and over every ten syphagrants, with the families subject to them, there is another magistrate, who was anciently called the tranibor, but of late the archphilarch. All the syphagrants, who are in number 200, choose the Prince out of a list of four, who are named by the people of the four divisions of the city; but they take an oath before they proceed to an election, that they will choose him whom they think most fit for the office. They give their voices secretly, so that it is not known for whom everyone gives his suffrage. The Prince is for life, unless he is removed upon suspicion of some design to enslave the people. The tranibors are new-chosen every year, but yet they are for the most part continued. All their other magistrates are only annual. The tranibors meet every third day, and oftener if necessary, and consult with the prince, either concerning the affairs of the State in general or such private differences as may arise sometimes among the people; though that falls out but seldom. There are always two syphagrants called into the council-chamber, and these are changed every day. It is a fundamental rule of their

government that no conclusion can be made in anything that relates to the public till it has been first debated three several days in their Council. It is death for any to meet and consult concerning the State, unless it be either in their ordinary Council, or in the assembly of the whole body of the people.

These things have been so provided among them, that the prince and the tratribors may not conspire together to change the government and enslave the people; and therefore when anything of great importance is set on foot, it is sent to the siphagrants; who after they have communicated it to the families that belong to their divisions, and have considered it among themselves, make report to the Senate; and upon great occasions, the matter is referred to the Council of the whole island. One rule observed in their Council, is, never to debate a thing on the same day in which it is first proposed; for that is always referred to the next meeting, that so men may not rashly, and in the heat of discourse, engage themselves too soon, which might bias them so much, that instead of consulting the good of the public, they might rather study to support their first opinions, and by a perverse and preposterous sort of shame, hazard their country rather than endanger their own reputation, or venture the being suspected to have wanted foresight in the expedients that they at first proposed. And therefore to prevent this, they take care that they may rather be deliberate than sudden in their motions.

## BOOK II: OF THEIR TRADES, AND MANNER OF LIFE

AGRICULTURE is that which is so universally understood among them that no person, either man or woman, is ignorant of it; they are instructed in it from their childhood, partly by what they learn at school and partly by practice; they being led out often into the fields, about the town, where they not only see others at work, but are likewise exercised in it themselves. Besides agriculture, which is so common to them all, every man has some peculiar trade to which he applies himself, such as the manufacture of wool, or flax, masonry, smith's work, or carpenter's work; for there is no sort of trade that is not in great esteem among them. Throughout the island they wear the same sort of clothes without any other distinction, except what is necessary to distinguish the two sexes, and the married and unmarried. The fashion never alters; and as it is neither disagreeable nor uneasy, so it is suited to the climate, and calculated both for their summers and winters. Every family makes their own clothes; but all among them, women as well as men, learn one or other of the trades formerly mentioned. Women, for the most part, deal in wool and flax, which suit best with their weakness, leaving the ruder trades to the men. The same trade generally passes down from father to son, inclinations often following descent; but if any man's genius lies another way, he is by adoption translated into a family that deals in the trade to which he is inclined: and when that is to be done, care is taken not only by his father, but by the magistrate, that he may be put to a discreet and good man. And if after a person has learned one trade, he desires to acquire another, that is also allowed, and is managed in the same manner as the former. When he has learned both, he follows that which he likes best, unless the public has more occasion for the other.

The chief, and almost the only business of the siphagrants, is to take care that no man may live idle, but that every one may follow his trade diligently: yet they do not wear themselves out with perpetual toil, from morning to night, as if they were beasts of burden, which, as it is indeed a heavy slavery, so it is everywhere the common course of life among all mechanics except the Utopians; but they dividing the day and night into twenty-four hours, appoint six of these for work; three of which are before dinner, and three after. They then sup, and at eight o'clock, counting from noon, go to bed and sleep eight hours. The rest of their time besides that taken up in work, eating and sleeping, is left to every man's discretion; yet they are not to abuse that interval to luxury and idleness, but must employ it in some proper exercise according to their various inclinations, which is for the most part reading. It is ordinary to have public lectures every morning before daybreak; at which none are obliged to appear but those who are marked out for literature; yet a great many, both men and women of all ranks, go to hear lectures of one sort of

other, according to their inclinations. But if others, that are not made for contemplation, choose rather to employ themselves at that time in their trades, as many of them do, they are not hindered, but are rather commended, as men that take care to serve their country. After supper, they spend an hour in some diversion, in summer in their gardens, and in winter in the halls where they eat; where they entertain each other, either with music or discourse. They do not so much as know dice, or any such foolish and mischievous games: they have, however, two sorts of games not unlike our chess; the one is between several numbers, in which one number, as it were, consumes another: the other resembles a battle between the virtues and the vices, in which the enmity in the vices among themselves, and their agreement against virtue, is not unpleasantly represented; together with the special oppositions between the particular virtues and vices; as also the methods by which vice either openly assaults or secretly undermines virtue, and virtue on the other hand resists it. But the time appointed for labor is to be narrowly examined, otherwise you may imagine, that since there are only six hours appointed for work, they may fall under a scarcity of necessary provisions. But it is so far from being true, that this time is not sufficient for supplying them with plenty of all things, either necessary or convenient, that it is rather too much; and this you will easily apprehend, if you consider how great a part of all other nations is quite idle.

First, women generally do little, who are the half of mankind; and if some few women are diligent, their husbands are idle: then consider the great company of idle priests, and of those that are called religious men; add to these all rich men, chiefly those that have estates in land, who are called noblemen and gentlemen, together with their families, made up of idle persons, that are kept more for show than use; add to these, all those strong and lusty beggars, that go about pretending some disease, in excuse for their begging; and upon the whole account you will find that the number of those by whose labors mankind is supplied, is much less than you perhaps imagined. Then consider how few of those that work are employed in labors that are of real service; for we who measure all things by money, give rise to many trades that are both vain and superfluous, and serve only to support riot and luxury. For if those who work were employed only in such things as the conveniences of life require, there would be such an abundance of them that the prices of them would so sink that tradesmen could not be maintained by their gains; if all those who labor about useless things were set to more profitable employments, and if all they that languish out their lives in sloth and idleness, every one of whom consumes as much as any two of the men that are at work, were forced to labor, you may easily imagine that a small proportion of time would serve for doing all that is either necessary, profitable, or pleasant to mankind, especially while pleasure is kept within its due bounds.

This appears very plainly in Utopia, for there, in a great city, and in all the territory that lies round it, you can scarce find 500, either men or women, by their age and strength, are capable of labor, that are not engaged in it; even the syphogrants, though excused by the law, yet do not excuse themselves, but work, that by their examples they may excite the industry of the rest of the people. The like exemption is allowed to those who, being recommended to the people by the priests, are by the secret suffrages of the syphogrants privileged from labor, that they may apply themselves wholly to study; and if any of these fall short of those hopes that they seemed at first to give, they are obliged to return to work. And sometimes a mechanic, that so employs his leisure hours, as to make a considerable advancement in learning, is eased from being a tradesman, and ranked among their learned men. Out of these they choose their ambassadors, their priests, their tranibors, and the prince himself, anciently called their Barzenes, but is called of late their Ademus.

And thus from the great numbers among them that are neither suffered to be idle, nor to be employed in any fruitless labor, you may easily make the estimate how much may be done in those few hours in which they are obliged to labor. But besides all that has been already said, it is to be considered that the needful arts among them are managed with less labor than anywhere else. The building or the repairing of houses among us employ many hands, because often a thriftless heir

suffers a house that his father built to fall into decay, so that his successor must, at a great cost, repair that which he might have kept up with a small charge: it frequently happens that the same house which one person built at a vast expense is neglected by another, who thinks he has a more delicate sense of the beauties of architecture; and he suffering it to fall to ruin, builds another at no less charge. But among the Utopians all things are so regulated that men very seldom build upon a new piece of ground; and are not only very quick in repairing their houses, but show their foresight in preventing their decay: so that their buildings are preserved very long, with but little labor, and thus the builders to whom that care belongs are often without employment, except the hewing of timber and the squaring of stones, that the materials may be in readiness for raising a building very suddenly when there is any occasion for it.

As to their clothes, observe how little work is spent in them: while they are at labor, they are clothed with leather and skins, cast carelessly about them, which will last seven years; and when they appear in public they put on an upper garment, which hides the other; and these are all of one color, and that is the natural color of the wool. As they need less woollen cloth than is used anywhere else, so that which they make use of is much less costly. They use linen cloth more; but that is prepared with less labor, and they value cloth only by the whiteness of the linen or the cleanliness of the wool, without much regard to the fineness of the thread: while in other places, four or five upper garments of woollen cloth, of different colors, and as many vests of silk, will scarce serve one man; and while those that are nicer think ten are too few, every man there is content with one, which very often serves him two years. Nor is there anything that can tempt a man to desire more; for if he had them, he would neither be the warmer nor would he make one jot the better appearance for it. And thus, since they are all employed in some useful labor, and since they content themselves with fewer things, it falls out that there is a great abundance of all things among them: so that it frequently happens that, for want of other work, vast numbers are sent out to mend the highways. But when no public undertaking is to be performed, the hours of working are lessened. The magistrates never engage the people in unnecessary labor, since the chief end of the constitution is to regulate labor by the necessities of the public, and to allow all the people as much time as is necessary for the improvement of their minds, in which they think the happiness of life consists.

## BOOK II: OF THEIR TRAFFIC

BUT it is now time to explain to you the mutual intercourse of this people, their commerce, and the rules by which all things are distributed among them.

As their cities are composed of families, so their families are made up of those that are nearly related to one another. Their women, when they grow up, are married out; but all the males, both children and grandchildren, live still in the same house, in great obedience to their common parent, unless age has weakened his understanding: and in that case, he that is next to him in age comes in his room. But lest any city should become either too great, or by any accident be dispeopled, provision is made that none of their cities may contain above 6,000 families, besides those of the country round it. No family may have less than ten and more than sixteen persons in it; but there can be no determined number for the children under age. This rule is easily observed, by removing some of the children of a more fruitful couple to any other family that does not abound so much in them.

By the same rule, they supply cities that do not increase so fast, from others that breed faster; and if there is any increase over the whole island, then they draw out a number of their citizens out of the several towns, and send them over to the neighboring continent; where, if they find that the inhabitants have more soil than they can well cultivate, they fix a colony, taking the inhabitants into their society, if they are willing to live with them; and where they do that of their own accord, they quickly enter into their method of life, and conform to their rules, and this proves a happiness to both nations; for according to their constitution, such care is taken of the

soil that it becomes fruitful enough for both, though it might be otherwise too narrow and barren for any one of them. But if the natives refuse to conform themselves to their laws, they drive them out of those bounds which they mark out for themselves, and use force if they resist. For they account it a very just cause of war, for a nation to hinder others from possessing a part of that soil of which they make no use, but which is suffered to lie idle and uncultivated; since every man has by the law of nature a right to such a waste portion of the earth as is necessary for his subsistence. If an accident has so lessened the number of the inhabitants of any of their towns that it cannot be made up from the other towns of the island, without diminishing them too much, which is said to have fallen out but twice since they were first a people, when great numbers were carried off by the plague, the loss is then supplied by recalling as many as are wanted from their colonies; for they will abandon these, rather than suffer the towns in the island to sink too low.

But to return to their manner of living in society, the oldest man of every family, as has been already said, is its governor. Wives serve their husbands, and children their parents, and always the younger serves the elder. Every city is divided into four equal parts, and in the middle of each there is a marketplace: what is brought thither, and manufactured by the several families, is carried from thence to houses appointed for that purpose, in which all things of a sort are laid by themselves; and thither every father goes and takes whatsoever he or his family stand in need of, without either paying for it or leaving anything in exchange. There is no reason for giving a denial to any person, since there is such plenty of everything among them; and there is no danger of a man's asking for more than he needs; they have no inducements to do this, since they are sure that they shall always be supplied. It is the fear of want that makes any of the whole race of animals either greedy or ravenous; but besides fear, there is in man a pride that makes him fancy it a particular glory to excel others in pomp and excess. But by the laws of the Utopians, there is no room for this. Near these markets there are others for all sorts of provisions, where there are not only herbs, fruits, and bread, but also fish, fowl, and cattle.

There are also, without their towns, places appointed near some running water, for killing their beasts, and for washing away their filth, which is done by their slaves: for they suffer none of their citizens to kill their cattle, because they think that pity and good-nature, which are among the best of those affections that are born with us, are much impaired by the butchering of animals: nor do they suffer anything that is foul or unclean to be brought within their towns, lest the air should be infected by ill-smells which might prejudice their health. In every street there are great halls that lie at an equal distance from each other, distinguished by particular names. The syphogrants dwell in those that are set over thirty families, fifteen lying on one side of it, and as many on the other. In these halls they all meet and have their repasts. The stewards of every one of them come to the market-place at an appointed hour; and according to the number of those that belong to the hall, they carry home provisions. But they take more care of their sick than of any others: these are lodged and provided for in public hospitals they have belonging to every town four hospitals, that are built without their walls, and are so large that they may pass for little towns: by this means, if they had ever such a number of sick persons, they could lodge them conveniently, and at such a distance, that such of them as are sick of infectious diseases may be kept so far from the rest that there can be no danger of contagion. The hospitals are furnished and stored with all things that are convenient for the ease and recovery of the sick; and those that are put in them are looked after with such tender and watchful care, and are so constantly attended by their skilful physicians, that as none is sent to them against their will, so there is scarce one in a whole town that, if he should fall ill, would not choose rather to go thither than lie sick at home.

After the steward of the hospitals has taken for the sick whatsoever the physician prescribes, then the best things that are left in the market are distributed equally among the halls, in proportion to their numbers, only, in the first place, they serve the Prince, the chief priest, the tranibors, the ambassadors, and strangers, if there are any, which indeed falls out but seldom, and for whom there are houses well furnished, particularly appointed for their reception when

they come among them. At the hours of dinner and supper, the whole syphograncy being called together by sound of trumpet, they meet and eat together, except only such as are in the hospitals or lie sick at home. Yet after the halls are served, no man is hindered to carry provisions home from the market-place; for they know that none does that but for some good reason; for though any that will may eat at home, yet none does it willingly, since it is both ridiculous and foolish for any to give themselves the trouble to make ready an ill dinner at home, when there is a much more plentiful one made ready for him so near at hand. All the uneasy and sordid services about these halls are performed by their slaves; but the dressing and cooking their meat, and the ordering their tables, belong only to the women, all those of every family taking it by turns. They sit at three or more tables, according to their number; the men sit toward the wall, and the women sit on the other side, that if any of them should be taken suddenly ill, which is no uncommon case among women with child, she may, without disturbing the rest, rise and go to the nurses' room, who are there with the sucking children, where there is always clean water at hand, and cradles in which they may lay the young children, if there is occasion for it, and a fire that they may shift and dress them before it.

Every child is nursed by its own mother, if death or sickness does not intervene; and in that case the syphogrants' wives find out a nurse quickly, which is no hard matter; for anyone that can do it offers herself cheerfully; for as they are much inclined to that piece of mercy, so the child whom the nurse considers the nurse as its mother. All the children under five years old sit among the nurses, the rest of the younger sort of both sexes, till they are fit for marriage, either serve those that sit at table or, if they are not strong enough for that, stand by them in great silence, and eat what is given them; nor have they any other formality of dining. In the middle of the first table, which stands across the upper end of the hall, sit the syphigrant and his wife; for that is the chief and most conspicuous place: next to him sit two of the most ancient, for there go always four to a mess. If there is a temple within that syphograncy, the priest and his wife sit with the syphigrant above all the rest: next them there is a mixture of old and young, who are so placed, that as the young are set near others, so they are mixed with the more ancient; which they say was appointed on this account, that the gravity of the old people, and the reverence that is due to them, might restrain the younger from all indecent words and gestures. Dishes are not served up to the whole table at first, but the best are first set before the old, whose seats are distinguished from the young, and after them all the rest are served alike. The old men distribute to the younger any curious meats that happen to be set before them, if there is not such an abundance of them that the whole company may be served alike.

Thus old men are honored with a particular respect; yet all the rest fare as well as they. Both dinner and supper are begun with some lecture of morality that is read to them; but it is so short, that it is not tedious nor uneasy to them to hear it: from hence the old men take occasion to entertain those about them with some useful and pleasant enlargements; but they do not engross the whole discourse so to themselves, during their meals, that the younger may not put in for a share: on the contrary, they engage them to talk, that so they may in that free way of conversation find out the force of everyone's spirit and observe his temper. They despatch their dinners quickly, but sit long at supper; because they go to work after the one, and are to sleep after the other, during which they think the stomach carries on the concoction more vigorously. They never sup without music; and there is always fruit served up after meat; while they are at table, some burn perfumes and sprinkle about fragrant ointments and sweet waters: in short, they want nothing that may cheer up their spirits: they give themselves a large allowance that way, and indulge themselves in all such pleasures as are attended with no inconvenience. Thus do those that are in the towns live together; but in the country, where they live at great distance, everyone eats at home, and no family wants any necessary sort of provision, for it is from them that provisions are sent unto those that live in the towns.

## BOOK II: OF THE TRAVELLING OF THE UTOPIANS

IF any man has a mind to visit his friends that live in some other town, or desires to travel and see the rest of the country, he obtains leave very easily from the siphogrant and tranibors when there is no particular occasion for him at home: such as travel, carry with them a passport from the Prince, which both certifies the license that is granted for travelling, and limits the time of their return. They are furnished with a wagon, and a slave who drives the oxen and looks after them; but unless there are women in the company, the wagon is sent back at the end of the journey as a needless encumbrance. While they are on the road, they carry no provisions with them; yet they want nothing, but are everywhere treated as if they were at home. If they stay in any place longer than a night, everyone follows his proper occupation, and is very well used by those of his own trade; but if any man goes out of the city to which he belongs, without leave, and is found rambling without a passport, he is severely treated, he is punished as a fugitive, and sent home disgracefully; and if he falls again into the like fault, is condemned to slavery. If any man has a mind to travel only over the precinct of his own city, he may freely do it, with his father's permission and his wife's consent; but when he comes into any of the country houses, if he expects to be entertained by them, he must labor with them and conform to their rules: and if he does this, he may freely go over the whole precinct; being thus as useful to the city to which he belongs, as if he were still within it. Thus you see that there are no idle persons among them, nor pretences of excusing any from labor. There are no taverns, no alehouses nor stews among them; nor any other occasions of corrupting each other, of getting into corners, or forming themselves into parties: all men live in full view, so that all are obliged, both to perform their ordinary tasks, and to employ themselves well in their spare hours. And it is certain that a people thus ordered must live in great abundance of all things; and these being equally distributed among them, no man can want, or be obliged to beg.

In their great Council at Amaurot, to which there are three sent from every town once a year, they examine what towns abound in provisions and what are under any scarcity, that so the one may be furnished from the other; and this is done freely, without any sort of exchange; for according to their plenty or scarcity they supply or are supplied from one another; so that indeed the whole island is, as it were, one family. When they have thus taken care of their whole country, and laid up stores for two years, which they do to prevent the ill-consequences of an unfavorable season, they order an exportation of the overplus, of corn, honey, wool, flax, wood, wax, tallow, leather, and cattle; which they send out commonly in great quantities to other nations. They order a seventh part of all these goods to be freely given to the poor of the countries to which they send them, and sell the rest at moderate rates. And by this exchange, they not only bring back those few things that they need at home (for indeed they scarce need anything but iron), but likewise a great deal of gold and silver; and by their driving this trade so long, it is not to be imagined how vast a treasure they have got among them: so that now they do not much care whether they sell off their merchandise for money in hand, or upon trust.

A great part of their treasure is now in bonds; but in all their contracts no private man stands bound, but the writing runs in the name of the town; and the towns that owe them money raise it from those private hands that owe it to them, lay it Up in their public chamber, or enjoy the profit of it till the Utopians call for it; and they choose rather to let the greatest part of it lie in their hands who make advantage by it, than to call for it themselves: but if they see that any of their other neighbors stand more in need of it, then they call it in and lend it to them: whenever they are engaged in war, which is the only occasion in which their treasure can be usefully employed, they make use of it themselves. In great extremities or sudden accidents they employ it in hiring foreign troops, whom they more willingly expose to danger than their own people: they give them great pay, knowing well that this will work even on their enemies, that it will engage them either to betray their own side, or at least to desert it, and that it is the best means of raising mutual jealousies among them: for this end they have an incredible treasure; but they do not keep it as a treasure, but in such a manner as I am almost afraid to tell, lest you think it so extravagant, as to be hardly credible. This I have the more reason to apprehend, because if I had not seen it myself, I could not have been easily persuaded to have believed it upon any man's report.

It is certain that all things appear incredible to us, in proportion as they differ from our own customs. But one who can judge aright will not wonder to find that, since their constitution differs so much from ours, their value of gold and silver should be measured by a very different standard; for since they have no use for money among themselves, but keep it as a provision against events which seldom happen, and between which there are generally long intervening intervals, they value it no farther than it deserves, that is, in proportion to its use. So that it is plain they must prefer iron either to gold or silver; for men can no more live without iron than without fire or water, but nature has marked out no use for the other metals, so essential as not easily to be dispensed with. The folly of men has enhanced the value of gold and silver, because of their scarcity. Whereas, on the contrary, it is their opinion that nature, as an indulgent parent, has freely given us all the best things in great abundance, such as water and earth, but has laid up and hid from us the things that are vain and useless.

If these metals were laid up in any tower in the kingdom, it would raise a jealousy of the Prince and Senate, and give birth to that foolish mistrust into which the people are apt to fall, a jealousy of their intending to sacrifice the interest of the public to their own private advantage. If they should work it into vessels or any sort of plate, they fear that the people might grow too fond of it, and so be unwilling to let the plate be run down if a war made it necessary to employ it in paying their soldiers. To prevent all these inconveniences, they have fallen upon an expedient, which, as it agrees with their other policy, so is it very different from ours, and will scarce gain belief among us, who value gold so much and lay it up so carefully. They eat and drink out of vessels of earth, or glass, which make an agreeable appearance though formed of brittle materials: while they make their chamber-pots and close-stools of gold and silver; and that not only in their public halls, but in their private houses: of the same metals they likewise make chains and fetters for their slaves; to some of which, as a badge of infamy, they hang an ear-ring of gold, and make others wear a chain or coronet of the same metal; and thus they take care, by all possible means, to render gold and silver of no esteem. And from hence it is that while other nations part with their gold and silver as unwillingly as if one tore out their bowels, those of Utopia would look on their giving in all they possess of those (metals, when there was any use for them) but as the parting with a trifle, or as we would esteem the loss of a penny. They find pearls on their coast, and diamonds and carbuncles on their rocks; they do not look after them, but, if they find them by chance, they polish them, and with them they adorn their children, who are delighted with them, and glory in them during their childhood; but when they grow to years, and see that none but children use such baubles, they of their own accord, without being bid by their parents, lay them aside; and would be as much ashamed to use them afterward as children among us, when they come to years, are of their puppets and other toys.

I never saw a clearer instance of the opposite impressions that different customs make on people, than I observed in the ambassadors of the Anemolians, who came to Amaurot when I was there. As they came to treat of affairs of great consequence, the deputies from several towns met together to wait for their coming. The ambassadors of the nations that lie near Utopia, knowing their customs, and that fine clothes are in no esteem among them, that silk is despised, and gold is a badge of infamy, used to come very modestly clothed; but the Anemolians, lying more remote, and having had little commerce with them, understanding that they were coarsely clothed, and all in the same manner, took it for granted that they had none of those fine things among them of which they made no use; and they being a vainglorious rather than a wise people, resolved to set themselves out with so much pomp, that they should look like gods, and strike the eyes of the poor Utopians with their splendor. Thus three ambassadors made their entry with 100 attendants, all clad in garments of different colors, and the greater part in silk; the ambassadors themselves, who were of the nobility of their country, were in cloth-of-gold, and adorned with massy chains, ear-rings, and rings of gold: their caps were covered with bracelets set full of pearls and other gems: in a word, they were set out with all those things that, among the Utopians, were the badges of slavery, the marks of infamy, or the playthings of children.

It was not unpleasant to see, on the one side, how they looked big, when they compared their rich habits with the plain clothes of the Utopians, who were come out in great numbers to see them make their entry: and, on the other, to observe how much they were mistaken in the impression which they hoped this pomp would have made on them. It appeared so ridiculous a show to all that had never stirred out of their country, and had not seen the customs of other nations, that though they paid some reverence to those that were the most meanly clad, as if they had been the ambassadors, yet when they saw the ambassadors themselves, so full of gold and chains, they looked upon them as slaves, and forbore to treat them with reverence. You might have seen the children, who were grown big enough to despise their playthings, and who had thrown away their jewels, call to their mothers, push them gently, and cry out, "See that great fool that wears pearls and gems, as if he were yet a child." While their mothers very innocently replied, "Hold your peace; this, I believe, is one of the ambassador's fools." Others censured the fashion of their chains, and observed that they were of no use; for they were too slight to bind their slaves, who could easily break them; and besides hung so loose about them that they thought it easy to throw them away, and so get from them.

But after the ambassadors had stayed a day among them, and saw so vast a quantity of gold in their houses, which was as much despised by them as it was esteemed in other nations, and beheld more gold and silver in the chains and fetters of one slave than all their ornaments amounted to, their plumes fell, and they were ashamed of all that glory for which they had formerly valued themselves, and accordingly laid it aside; a resolution that they immediately took, when on their engaging in some free discourse with the Utopians, they discovered their sense of such things and their other customs. The Utopians wonder how any man should be so much taken with the glaring doubtful lustre of a jewel or a stone, that can look up to a star or to the sun himself; or how any should value himself because his cloth is made of a finer thread: for how fine soever that thread may be, it was once no better than the fleece of a sheep, and that sheep was a sheep still for all its wearing it. They wonder much to hear that gold which in itself is so useless a thing, should be everywhere so much esteemed, that even men for whom it was made, and by whom it has its value, should yet be thought of less value than this metal. That a man of lead, who has no more sense than a log of wood, and is as bad as he is foolish, should have many wise and good men to serve him, only because he has a great heap of that metal; and that if it should happen that by some accident or trick of law (which sometimes produces as great changes as chance itself) all this wealth should pass from the master to the meanest varlet of his whole family, he himself would very soon become one of his servants, as if he were a thing that belonged to his wealth, and so were bound to follow its fortune. But they much more admire and detest the folly of those who, when they see a rich man, though they neither owe him anything nor are in any sort dependent on his bounty, yet merely because he is rich give him little less than divine honors, even though they know him to be so covetous and base-minded that notwithstanding all his wealth he will not part with one farthing of it to them as long as he lives.

These and such like notions has that people imbibed, partly from their education, being bred in a country whose customs and laws are opposite to all such foolish maxims, and partly from their learning and studies; for though there are but few in any town that are so wholly excused from labor as to give themselves entirely up to their studies, these being only such persons as discover from their childhood an extraordinary capacity and disposition for letters; yet their children, and a great part of the nation, both men and women, are taught to spend those hours in which they are not obliged to work, in reading: and this they do through the whole progress of life. They have all their learning in their own tongue, which is both a copious and pleasant language, and in which a man can fully express his mind. It runs over a great tract of many countries, but it is not equally pure in all places. They had never so much as heard of the names of any of those philosophers that are so famous in these parts of the world, before we went among them; and yet they had made the same discoveries as the Greeks, in music, logic, arithmetic, and geometry. But as they are almost in everything equal to the ancient philosophers, so they far exceed our modern

logicians; for they have never yet fallen upon the barbarous niceties that our youth are forced to learn in those trifling logical schools that are among us; they are so far from minding chimeras, and fantastical images made in the mind, that none of them could comprehend what we meant when we talked to them of man in the abstract, as common to all men in particular (so that though we spoke of him as a thing that we could point at with our fingers, yet none of them could perceive him), and yet distinct from everyone, as if he were some monstrous Colossus or giant.

Yet for all this ignorance of these empty notions, they knew astronomy, and were perfectly acquainted with the motions of the heavenly bodies, and have many instruments, well contrived and divided, by which they very accurately compute the course and positions of the sun, moon, and stars. But for the cheat, of divining by the stars by their oppositions or conjunctions, it has not so much as entered into their thoughts. They have a particular sagacity, founded upon much observation, in judging of the weather, by which they know when they may look for rain, wind, or other alterations in the air; but as to the philosophy of these things, the causes of the saltiness of the sea, of its ebbing and flowing, and of the origin and nature both of the heavens and the earth; they dispute of them, partly as our ancient philosophers have done, and partly upon some new hypothesis, in which, as they differ from them, so they do not in all things agree among themselves.

As to moral philosophy, they have the same disputes among them as we have here: they examine what are properly good both for the body and the mind, and whether any outward thing can be called truly good, or if that term belong only to the endowments of the soul. They inquire likewise into the nature of virtue and pleasure; but their chief dispute is concerning the happiness of a man, and wherein it consists? Whether in some one thing, or in a great many? They seem, indeed, more inclined to that opinion that places, if not the whole, yet the chief part of a man's happiness in pleasure; and, what may seem more strange, they make use of arguments even from religion, notwithstanding its severity and roughness, for the support of that opinion so indulgent to pleasure; for they never dispute concerning happiness without fetching some arguments from the principles of religion, as well as from natural reason, since without the former they reckon that all our inquiries after happiness must be but conjectural and defective.

These are their religious principles, that the soul of man is immortal, and that God of his goodness has designed that it should be happy; and that he has therefore appointed rewards for good and virtuous actions, and punishments for vice, to be distributed after this life. Though these principles of religion are conveyed down among them by tradition, they think that even reason itself determines a man to believe and acknowledge them, and freely confess that if these were taken away no man would be so insensible as not to seek after pleasure by all possible means, lawful or unlawful; using only this caution, that a lesser pleasure might not stand in the way of a greater, and that no pleasure ought to be pursued that should draw a great deal of pain after it; for they think it the maddest thing in the world to pursue virtue, that is a sour and difficult thing; and not only to renounce the pleasures of life, but willingly to undergo much pain and trouble, if a man has no prospect of a reward. And what reward can there be for one that has passed his whole life, not only without pleasure, but in pain, if there is nothing to be expected after death? Yet they do not place happiness in all sorts of pleasures, but only in those that in themselves are good and honest.

There is a party among them who place happiness in bare virtue; others think that our natures are conducted by virtue to happiness, as that which is the chief good of man. They define virtue thus, that it is a living according to nature, and think that we are made by God for that end; they believe that a man then follows the dictates of nature when he pursues or avoids things according to the direction of reason; they say that the first dictate of reason is the kindling in us of a love and reverence for the Divine Majesty, to whom we owe both all that we have and all that we can ever hope for. In the next place, reason directs us to keep our minds as free from passion and as cheerful as we can, and that we should consider ourselves as bound by the ties of good-nature and

humanity to use our utmost endeavors to help forward the happiness of all other persons; for there never was any man such a morose and severe pursuer of virtue, such an enemy to pleasure, that though he set hard rules for men to undergo much pain, many watchings, and other rigors, yet did not at the same time advise them to do all they could, in order to relieve and ease the miserable, and who did not represent gentleness and good-nature as amiable dispositions. And from thence they infer that if a man ought to advance the welfare and comfort of the rest of mankind, there being no virtue more proper and peculiar to our nature, than to ease the miseries of others, to free from trouble and anxiety, in furnishing them with the comforts of life, in which pleasure consists, nature much more vigorously leads them to do all this for himself.

A life of pleasure is either a real evil, and in that case we ought not to assist others in their pursuit of it, but on the contrary, to keep them from it all we can, as from that which is most hurtful and deadly; or if it is a good thing, so that we not only may, but ought to help others to it, why, then, ought not a man to begin with himself? Since no man can be more bound to look after the good of another than after his own; for nature cannot direct us to be good and kind to others, and yet at the same time to be unmerciful and cruel to ourselves. Thus, as they define virtue to be living according to nature, so they imagine that nature prompts all people on to seek after pleasure, as the end of all they do. They also observe that in order to our supporting the pleasures of life, nature inclines us to enter into society; for there is no man so much raised above the rest of mankind as to be the only favorite of nature who, on the contrary, seems to have placed on a level all those that belong to the same species. Upon this they infer that no man ought to seek his own conveniences so eagerly as to prejudice others; and therefore they think that not only all agreements between private persons ought to be observed, but likewise that all those laws ought to be kept, which either a good prince has published in due form, or to which a people that is neither oppressed with tyranny nor circumvented by fraud, has consented, for distributing those conveniences of life which afford us all our pleasures.

They think it is an evidence of true wisdom for a man to pursue his own advantages as far as the laws allow it. They account it piety to prefer the public good to one's private concerns; but they think it unjust for a man to seek for pleasure by snatching another man's pleasures from him. And on the contrary, they think it a sign of a gentle and good soul, for a man to dispense with his own advantage for the good of others; and that by this means a good man finds as much pleasure one way as he parts with another; for as he may expect the like from others when he may come to need it, so if that should fail him, yet the sense of a good action, and the reflections that he makes on the love and gratitude of those whom he has so obliged, gives the mind more pleasure than the body could have found in that from which it had restrained itself. They are also persuaded that God will make up the loss of those small pleasures, with a vast and endless joy, of which religion easily convinces a good soul.

Thus, upon an inquiry into the whole matter, they reckon that all our actions, and even all our virtues, terminate in pleasure, as in our chief end and greatest happiness; and they call every motion or state, either of body or mind, in which nature teaches us to delight, a pleasure. Thus they cautiously limit pleasure only to those appetites to which nature leads us; for they say that nature leads us only to those delights to which reason as well as sense carries us, and by which we neither injure any other person nor lose the possession of greater pleasures, and of such as draw no troubles after them; but they look upon those delights which men by a foolish though common mistake call pleasure, as if they could change as easily the nature of things as the use of words; as things that greatly obstruct their real happiness instead of advancing it, because they so entirely possess the minds of those that are once captivated by them with a false notion of pleasure, that there is no room left for pleasures of a truer or purer kind.

There are many things that in themselves have nothing that is truly delightful; on the contrary, they have a good deal of bitterness in them; and yet from our perverse appetites after forbidden objects, are not only ranked among the pleasures, but are made even the greatest designs of life.

Among those who pursue these sophisticated pleasures, they reckon such as I mentioned before, who think themselves really the better for having fine clothes; in which they think they are doubly mistaken, both in the opinion that they have of their clothes, and in that they have of themselves; for if you consider the use of clothes, why should a fine thread be thought better than a coarse one? And yet these men, as if they had some real advantages beyond others, and did not owe them wholly to their mistakes, look big, seem to fancy themselves to be more valuable, and imagine that a respect is due to them for the sake of a rich garment, to which they would not have pretended if they had been more meanly clothed; and even resent it as an affront, if that respect is not paid them. It is also a great folly to be taken with outward marks of respect, which signify nothing; for what true or real pleasure can one man find in another's standing bare, or making legs to him? Will the bending another man's knees give ease to yours? And will the head's being bare cure the madness of yours? And yet it is wonderful to see how this false notion of pleasure bewitches many who delight themselves with the fancy of their nobility, and are pleased with this conceit, that they are descended from ancestors who have been held for some successions rich, and who have had great possessions; for this is all that makes nobility at present; yet they do not think themselves a whit the less noble, though their immediate parents have left none of this wealth to them, or though they themselves have squandered it away.

The Utopians have no better opinion of those who are much taken with gems and precious stones, and who account it a degree of happiness, next to a divine one, if they can purchase one that is very extraordinary; especially if it be of that sort of stones that is then in greatest request; for the same sort is not at all times universally of the same value; nor will men buy it unless it be dismounted and taken out of the gold; the jeweller is then made to give good security, and required solemnly to swear that the stone is true, that by such an exact caution a false one might not be bought instead of a true: though if you were to examine it, your eye could find no difference between the counterfeit and that which is true; so that they are all one to you as much as if you were blind. Or can it be thought that they who heap up a useless mass of wealth, not for any use that it is to bring them, but merely to please themselves with the contemplation of it, enjoy any true pleasure in it? The delight they find is only a false shadow of joy. Those are no better whose error is somewhat different from the former, and who hide it, out of their fear of losing it; for what other name can fit the hiding it in the earth, or rather the restoring it to it again, it being thus cut off from being useful, either to its owner or to the rest of mankind? And yet the owner having hid it carefully, is glad, because he thinks he is now sure of it. If it should be stolen, the owner, though he might live perhaps ten years after the theft, of which he knew nothing, would find no difference between his having or losing it; for both ways it was equally useless to him.

Among those foolish pursuers of pleasure they reckon all that delight in hunting, in fowling, or gaming: of whose madness they have only heard, for they have no such things among them. But they have asked us, what sort of pleasure is it that men can find in throwing the dice? For if there were any pleasure in it, they think the doing of it so often should give one a surfeit of it: and what pleasure can one find in hearing the barking and howling of dogs, which seem rather odious than pleasant sounds? Nor can they comprehend the pleasure of seeing dogs run after a hare, more than of seeing one dog run after another; for if the seeing them run is that which gives the pleasure, you have the same entertainment to the eye on both these occasions, since that is the same in both cases: but if the pleasure lies in seeing the hare killed and torn by the dogs, this ought rather to stir pity, that a weak, harmless and fearful hare should be devoured by strong, fierce, and cruel dogs. Therefore all this business of hunting is, among the Utopians, turned over to their butchers; and those, as has been already said, are all slaves; and they look on hunting as one of the basest parts of a butcher's work: for they account it both more profitable and more decent to kill those beasts that are more necessary and useful to mankind; whereas the killing and tearing of so small and miserable an animal can only attract the huntsman with a false show of pleasure, from which he can reap but small advantage. They look on the desire of the bloodshed, even of beasts, as a mark of a mind that is already corrupted with cruelty, or that at least by the frequent returns of

so brutal a pleasure must degenerate into it.

Thus, though the rabble of mankind look upon these, and on innumerable other things of the same nature, as pleasures, the Utopians, on the contrary, observing that there is nothing in them truly pleasant, conclude that they are not to be reckoned among pleasures: for though these things may create some tickling in the senses (which seems to be a true notion of pleasure), yet they imagine that this does not arise from the thing itself, but from a depraved custom, which may so vitiate a man's taste, that bitter things may pass for sweet; as women with child think pitch or tallow tastes sweeter than honey; but as a man's sense when corrupted, either by a disease or some ill habit, does not change the nature of other things, so neither can it change the nature of pleasure.

They reckon up several sorts of pleasures, which they call true ones: some belong to the body and others to the mind. The pleasures of the mind lie in knowledge, and in that delight which the contemplation of truth carries with it; to which they add the joyful reflections on a well-spent life, and the assured hopes of a future happiness. They divide the pleasures of the body into two sorts; the one is that which gives our senses some real delight, and is performed, either by recruiting nature, and supplying those parts which feed the internal heat of life by eating and drinking; or when nature is eased of any surcharge that oppresses it; when we are relieved from sudden pain, or that which arises from satisfying the appetite which nature has wisely given to lead us to the propagation of the species. There is another kind of pleasure that arises neither from our receiving what the body requires nor its being relieved when overcharged, and yet by a secret, unseen virtue affects the senses, raises the passions, and strikes the mind with generous impressions; this is the pleasure that arises from music. Another kind of bodily pleasure is that which results from an undisturbed and vigorous constitution of body, when life and active spirits seem to actuate every part. This lively health, when entirely free from all mixture of pain, of itself gives an inward pleasure, independent of all external objects of delight; and though this pleasure does not so powerfully affect us, nor act so strongly on the senses as some of the others, yet it may be esteemed as the greatest of all pleasures, and almost all the Utopians reckon it the foundation and basis of all the other joys of life; since this alone makes the state of life easy and desirable; and when this is wanting, a man is really capable of no other pleasure. They look upon freedom from pain, if it does not rise from perfect health, to be a state of stupidity rather than of pleasure.

This subject has been very narrowly canvassed among them; and it has been debated whether a firm and entire health could be called a pleasure or not? Some have thought that there was no pleasure but what was excited by some sensible motion in the body. But this opinion has been long ago excluded from among them, so that now they almost universally agree that health is the greatest of all bodily pleasures; and that as there is a pain in sickness, which is as opposite in its nature to pleasure as sickness itself is to health, so they hold that health is accompanied with pleasure: and if any should say that sickness is not really pain, but that it only carries pain along with it, they look upon that as a fetch of subtlety, that does not much alter the matter. It is all one, in their opinion, whether it be said that health is in itself a pleasure, or that it begets a pleasure, as fire gives heat; so it be granted, that all those whose health is entire have a true pleasure in the enjoyment of it: and they reason thus--what is the pleasure of eating, but that a man's health which had been weakened, does, with the assistance of food, drive away hunger, and so recruiting itself recovers its former vigor? And being thus refreshed, it finds a pleasure in that conflict; and if the conflict is pleasure, the victory must yet breed a greater pleasure, except we fancy that it becomes stupid as soon as it has obtained that which it pursued, and so neither knows nor rejoices in its own welfare. If it is said that health cannot be felt, they absolutely deny it; for what man is in health that does not perceive it when he is awake? Is there any man that is so dull and stupid as not to acknowledge that he feels a delight in health? And what is delight but another name for pleasure?

But of all pleasures, they esteem those to be most valuable that lie in the mind, the chief of which

arises out of true virtue, and the witnesses of a good conscience. They account health the chief pleasure that belongs to the body; for they think that the pleasure of eating and drinking, and all the other delights of sense, are only so far desirable as they give or maintain health. But they are not pleasant in themselves, otherwise than as they resist those impressions that our natural infirmities are still making upon us: for as a wise man desires rather to avoid diseases than to take physic, and to be freed from pain, rather than to find ease by remedies; so it is more desirable not to need this sort of pleasure, than to be obliged to indulge it. If any man imagines that there is a real happiness in these enjoyments, he must then confess that he would be the happiest of all men if he were to lead his life in perpetual hunger, thirst, and itching, and by consequence in perpetual eating, drinking, and scratching himself; which anyone may easily see would be not only a base but a miserable state of life. These are indeed the lowest of pleasures, and the least pure; for we can never relish them, but when they are mixed with the contrary pains. The pain of hunger must give us the pleasure of eating; and here the pain out-balances the pleasure; and as the pain is more vehement, so it lasts much longer; for as it begins before the pleasure, so it does not cease but with the pleasure that extinguishes it, and both expire together.

They think, therefore, none of those pleasures is to be valued any further than as it is necessary; yet they rejoice in them, and with due gratitude acknowledge the tenderness of the great Author of nature, who has planted in us appetites, by which those things that are necessary for our preservation are likewise made pleasant to us. For how miserable a thing would life be, if those daily diseases of hunger and thirst were to be carried off by such bitter drugs as we must use for those diseases that return seldom upon us? And thus these pleasant as well as proper gifts of nature maintain the strength and the sprightliness of our bodies.

They also entertain themselves with the other delights let in at their eyes, their ears, and their nostrils, as the pleasant relishes and seasonings of life, which nature seems to have marked out peculiarly for man; since no other sort of animals contemplates the figure and beauty of the universe; nor is delighted with smells, any further than as they distinguish meats by them; nor do they apprehend the concords or discords of sound; yet in all pleasures whatsoever they take care that a lesser joy does not hinder a greater, and that pleasure may never breed pain, which they think always follows dishonest pleasures. But they think it madness for a man to wear out the beauty of his face, or the force of his natural strength; to corrupt the sprightliness of his body by sloth and laziness, or to waste it by fasting; that it is madness to weaken the strength of his constitution, and reject the other delights of life; unless by renouncing his own satisfaction, he can either serve the public or promote the happiness of others, for which he expects a greater recompence from God. So that they look on such a course of life as the mark of a mind that is both cruel to itself, and ungrateful to the Author of nature, as if we would not be beholden to Him for His favors, and therefore reject all His blessings; as one who should afflict himself for the empty shadow of virtue; or for no better end than to render himself capable of bearing those misfortunes which possibly will never happen.

This is their notion of virtue and of pleasure; they think that no man's reason can carry him to a truer idea of them, unless some discovery from heaven should inspire him with sublimer notions. I have not now the leisure to examine whether they think right or wrong in this matter: nor do I judge it necessary, for I have only undertaken to give you an account of their constitution, but not to defend all their principles. I am sure, that whatsoever may be said of their notions, there is not in the whole world either a better people or a happier government: their bodies are vigorous and lively; and though they are but of a middle stature, and have neither the fruitfullest soil nor the purest air in the world, yet they fortify themselves so well by their temperate course of life, against the unhealthiness of their air, and by their industry they so cultivate their soil, that there is nowhere to be seen a greater increase both of corn and cattle, nor are there anywhere healthier men and freer from diseases: for one may there see reduced to practice, not only all the arts that the husbandman employs in manuring and improving an ill soil, but whole woods plucked up by the roots, and in other places new ones planted, where there were none before.

Their principal motive for this is the convenience of carriage, that their timber may be either near their towns or growing on the banks of the sea or of some rivers, so as to be floated to them; for it is a harder work to carry wood at any distance over land, than corn. The people are industrious, apt to learn, as well as cheerful and pleasant; and none can endure more labor, when it is necessary; but except in that case they love their ease. They are unwearied pursuers of knowledge; for when we had given them some hints of the learning and discipline of the Greeks, concerning whom we only instructed them (for we know that there was nothing among the Romans, except their historians and their poets, that they would value much), it was strange to see how eagerly they were set on learning that language. We began to read a little of it to them, rather in compliance with their importunity, than out of any hopes of their reaping from it any great advantage. But after a very short trial, we found they made such progress, that we saw our labor was like to be more successful than we could have expected. They learned to write their characters and to pronounce their language so exactly, had so quick an apprehension, they remembered it so faithfully, and became so ready and correct in the use of it, that it would have looked like a miracle if the greater part of those whom we taught had not been men both of extraordinary capacity and of a fit age for instruction. They were for the greatest part chosen from among their learned men, by their chief Council, though some studied it of their own accord. In three years' time they became masters of the whole language, so that they read the best of the Greek authors very exactly. I am indeed apt to think that they learned that language the more easily, from its having some relation to their own. I believe that they were a colony of the Greeks; for though their language comes nearer the Persian, yet they retain many names, both for their towns and magistrates, that are of Greek derivation.

I happened to carry a great many books with me, instead of merchandise, when I sailed my fourth voyage; for I was so far from thinking of soon coming back, that I rather thought never to have returned at all, and I gave them all my books, among which were many of Plato's and some of Aristotle's works. I had also Theophrastus "On Plants," which, to my great regret, was imperfect; for having laid it carelessly by, while we were at sea, a monkey had seized upon it, and in many places torn out the leaves. They have no books of grammar but Lascares, for I did not carry Theodorus with me; nor have they any dictionaries but Hesichius and Dioscorides. They esteem Plutarch highly, and were much taken with Lucian's wit and with his pleasant way of writing. As for the poets, they have Aristophanes, Homer, Euripides, and Sophocles of Aldus's edition; and for historians Thucydides, Herodotus, and Herodian. One of my companions, Thricius Apinatus, happened to carry with him some of Hippocrates's works, and Galen's "Microtechnie," which they hold in great estimation; for though there is no nation in the world that needs physic so little as they do, yet there is not any that honors it so much: they reckon the knowledge of it one of the pleasantest and most profitable parts of philosophy, by which, as they search into the secrets of nature, so they not only find this study highly agreeable, but think that such inquiries are very acceptable to the Author of nature; and imagine that as He, like the inventors of curious engines among mankind, has exposed this great machine of the universe to the view of the only creatures capable of contemplating it, so an exact and curious observer, who admires His workmanship, is much more acceptable to Him than one of the herd, who, like a beast incapable of reason, looks on this glorious scene with the eyes of a dull and unconcerned spectator.

The minds of the Utopians, when fenced with a love for learning, are very ingenious in discovering all such arts as are necessary to carry it to perfection. Two things they owe to us, the manufacture of paper and the art of printing: yet they are not so entirely indebted to us for these discoveries but that a great part of the invention was their own. We showed them some books printed by Aldus, we explained to them the way of making paper, and the mystery of printing; but as we had never practised these arts, we described them in a crude and superficial manner. They seized the hints we gave them, and though at first they could not arrive at perfection, yet by making many essays they at last found out and corrected all their errors, and conquered every difficulty. Before this they only wrote on parchment, on reeds, or on the bark of trees; but now they have

established the manufacture of paper, and set up printing-presses, so that if they had but a good number of Greek authors they would be quickly supplied with many copies of them: at present, though they have no more than those I have mentioned, yet by several impressions they have multiplied them into many thousands.

If any man was to go among them that had some extraordinary talent, or that by much travelling had observed the customs of many nations (which made us to be so well received), he would receive a hearty welcome; for they are very desirous to know the state of the whole world. Very few go among them on the account of traffic, for what can a man carry to them but iron or gold or silver, which merchants desire rather to export than import to a strange country: and as for their exportation, they think it better to manage that themselves than to leave it to foreigners, for by this means, as they understand the state of the neighboring countries better, so they keep up the art of navigation, which cannot be maintained but by much practice.

## BOOK II: OF THEIR SLAVES, AND OF THEIR MARRIAGES

THEY do not make slaves of prisoners of war, except those that are taken in battle; nor of the sons of their slaves, nor of those of other nations: the slaves among them are only such as are condemned to that state of life for the commission of some crime, or, which is more common, such as their merchants find condemned to die in those parts to which they trade, whom they sometimes redeem at low rates; and in other places have them for nothing. They are kept at perpetual labor, and are always chained, but with this difference, that their own natives are treated much worse than others; they are considered as more profligate than the rest, and since they could not be restrained by the advantages of so excellent an education, are judged worthy of harder usage. Another sort of slaves are the poor of the neighboring countries, who offer of their own accord to come and serve them; they treat these better, and use them in all other respects as well as their own countrymen, except their imposing more labor upon them, which is no hard task to those that have been accustomed to it; and if any of these have a mind to go back to their own country, which indeed falls out but seldom, as they do not force them to stay, so they do not send them away empty-handed.

I have already told you with what care they look after their sick, so that nothing is left undone that can contribute either to their ease or health: and for those who are taken with fixed and incurable diseases, they use all possible ways to cherish them, and to make their lives as comfortable as possible. They visit them often, and take great pains to make their time pass off easily: but when any is taken with a torturing and lingering pain, so that there is no hope, either of recovery or ease, the priests and magistrates come and exhort them, that since they are now unable to go on with the business of life, are become a burden to themselves and to all about them, and they have really outlived themselves, they should no longer nourish such a rooted distemper, but choose rather to die, since they cannot live but in much misery: being assured, that if they thus deliver themselves from torture, or are willing that others should do it, they shall be happy after death. Since by their acting thus, they lose none of the pleasures but only the troubles of life, they think they behave not only reasonably, but in a manner consistent with religion and piety; because they follow the advice given them by their priests, who are the expounders of the will of God. Such as are wrought on by these persuasions, either starve themselves of their own accord, or take opium, and by that means die without pain. But no man is forced on this way of ending his life; and if they cannot be persuaded to it, this does not induce them to fail in their attendance and care of them; but as they believe that a voluntary death, when it is chosen upon such an authority, is very honorable, so if any man takes away his own life without the approbation of the priests and the Senate, they give him none of the honors of a decent funeral, but throw his body into a ditch.

Their women are not married before eighteen, nor their men before two-and-twenty, and if any of them run into forbidden embraces before marriage they are severely punished, and the privilege

of marriage is denied them, unless they can obtain a special warrant from the Prince. Such disorders cast a great reproach upon the master and mistress of the family in which they happen, for it is supposed that they have failed in their duty. The reason of punishing this so severely is, because they think that if they were not strictly restrained from all vagrant appetites, very few would engage in a state in which they venture the quiet of their whole lives, by being confined to one person, and are obliged to endure all the inconveniences with which it is accompanied.

In choosing their wives they use a method that would appear to us very absurd and ridiculous, but it is constantly observed among them, and is accounted perfectly consistent with wisdom. Before marriage some grave matron presents the bride naked, whether she is a virgin or a widow, to the bridegroom; and after that some grave man presents the bridegroom naked to the bride. We indeed both laughed at this, and condemned it as very indecent. But they, on the other hand, wondered at the folly of the men of all other nations, who, if they are but to buy a horse of a small value, are so cautious that they will see every part of him, and take off both his saddle and all his other tackle, that there may be no secret ulcer hid under any of them; and that yet in the choice of a wife, on which depends the happiness or unhappiness of the rest of his life, a man should venture upon trust, and only see about a hand's-breadth of the face, all the rest of the body being covered, under which there may lie hid what may be contagious as well as loathsome. All men are not so wise as to choose a woman only for her good qualities; and even wise men consider the body as that which adds not a little to the mind: and it is certain there may be some such deformity covered with the clothes as may totally alienate a man from his wife when it is too late to part from her. If such a thing is discovered after marriage, a man has no remedy but patience. They therefore think it is reasonable that there should be good provision made against such mischievous frauds.

There was so much the more reason for them to make a regulation in this matter, because they are the only people of those parts that neither allow of polygamy nor of divorces, except in the case of adultery or insufferable perverseness; for in these cases the Senate dissolves the marriage, and grants the injured person leave to marry again; but the guilty are made infamous, and are never allowed the privilege of a second marriage. None are suffered to put away their wives against their wills, from any great calamity that may have fallen on their persons; for they look on it as the height of cruelty and treachery to abandon either of the married persons when they need most the tender care of their comfort, and that chiefly in the case of old age, which as it carries many diseases along with it, so it is a disease of itself. But it frequently falls out that when a married couple do not well agree, they by mutual consent separate, and find out other persons with whom they hope they may live more happily. Yet this is not done without obtaining leave of the Senate, which never admits of a divorce but upon a strict inquiry made, both by the Senators and their wives, into the grounds upon which it is desired; and even when they are satisfied concerning the reasons of it, they go on but slowly, for they imagine that too great easiness in granting leave for new marriages would very much shake the kindness of married people. They punish severely those that defile the marriage-bed. If both parties are married they are divorced, and the injured persons may marry one another, or whom they please; but the adulterer and the adulteress are condemned to slavery. Yet if either of the injured persons cannot shake off the love of the married person, they may live with them still in that state, but they must follow them to that labor to which the slaves are condemned; and sometimes the repentance of the condemned, together with the unshaken kindness of the innocent and injured person, has prevailed so far with the Prince that he has taken off the sentence; but those that relapse after they are once pardoned are punished with death.

Their law does not determine the punishment for other crimes; but that is left to the Senate, to temper it according to the circumstances of the fact. Husbands have power to correct their wives, and parents to chastise their children, unless the fault is so great that a public punishment is thought necessary for striking terror into others. For the most part, slavery is the punishment

even of the greatest crimes; for as that is no less terrible to the criminals themselves than death, so they think the preserving them in a state of servitude is more for the interest of the commonwealth than killing them; since as their labor is a greater benefit to the public than their death could be, so the sight of their misery is a more lasting terror to other men than that which would be given by their death. If their slaves rebel, and will not bear their yoke and submit to the labor that is enjoined them, they are treated as wild beasts that cannot be kept in order, neither by a prison nor by their chains, and are at last put to death. But those who bear their punishment patiently, and are so much wrought on by that pressure that lies so hard on them that it appears they are really more troubled for the crimes they have committed than for the miseries they suffer, are not out of hope but that at last either the Prince will, by his prerogative, or the people by their intercession, restore them again to their liberty, or at least very much mitigate their slavery. He that tempts a married woman to adultery is no less severely punished than he that commits it; for they believe that a deliberate design to commit a crime is equal to the fact itself: since its not taking effect does not make the person that miscarried in his attempt at all the less guilty.

They take great pleasure in fools, and as it is thought a base and unbecoming thing to use them ill, so they do not think it amiss for people to divert themselves with their folly: and, in their opinion, this is a great advantage to the fools themselves: for if men were so sullen and severe as not at all to please themselves with their ridiculous behavior and foolish sayings, which is all that they can do to recommend themselves to others, it could not be expected that they would be so well provided for, nor so tenderly used as they must otherwise be. If any man should reproach another for his being misshaped or imperfect in any part of his body, it would not at all be thought a reflection on the person so treated, but it would be accounted scandalous in him that had upbraided another with what he could not help. It is thought a sign of a sluggish and sordid mind not to preserve carefully one's natural beauty; but it is likewise infamous among them to use paint. They all see that no beauty recommends a wife so much to her husband as the probity of her life, and her obedience: for as some few are caught and held only by beauty, so all are attracted by the other excellences which charm all the world.

As they fright men from committing crimes by punishments, so they invite them to the love of virtue by public honors: therefore they erect statues to the memories of such worthy men as have deserved well of their country, and set these in their market-places, both to perpetuate the remembrance of their actions, and to be an incitement to their posterity to follow their example.

If any man aspires to any office, he is sure never to compass it: they all live easily together, for none of the magistrates are either insolent or cruel to the people: they affect rather to be called fathers, and by being really so, they well deserve the name; and the people pay them all the marks of honor the more freely, because none are exacted from them. The Prince himself has no distinction, either of garments or of a crown; but is only distinguished by a sheaf of corn carried before him; as the high- priest is also known by his being preceded by a person carrying a wax light.

They have but few laws, and such is their constitution that they need not many. They very much condemn other nations, whose laws, together with the commentaries on them, swell up to so many volumes; for they think it an unreasonable thing to oblige men to obey a body of laws that are both of such a bulk and so dark as not to be read and understood by every one of the subjects.

They have no lawyers among them, for they consider them as a sort of people whose profession it is to disguise matters and to wrest the laws; and therefore they think it is much better that every man should plead his own cause, and trust it to the judge, as in other places the client trusts it to a counsellor. By this means they both cut off many delays, and find out truth more certainly: for after the parties have laid open the merits of the cause, without those artifices which lawyers are apt to suggest, the judge examines the whole matter, and supports the simplicity of such well-

meaning persons, whom otherwise crafty men would be sure to run down: and thus they avoid those evils which appear very remarkably among all those nations that labor under a vast load of laws. Every one of them is skilled in their law, for as it is a very short study, so the plainest meaning of which words are capable is always the sense of their laws. And they argue thus: all laws are promulgated for this end, that every man may know his duty; and therefore the plainest and most obvious sense of the words is that which ought to be put upon them; since a more refined exposition cannot be easily comprehended, and would only serve to make the laws become useless to the greater part of mankind, and especially to those who need most the direction of them: for it is all one, not to make a law at all, or to couch it in such terms that without a quick apprehension, and much study, a man cannot find out the true meaning of it; since the generality of mankind are both so dull and so much employed in their several trades that they have neither the leisure nor the capacity requisite for such an inquiry.

Some of their neighbors, who are masters of their own liberties, having long ago, by the assistance of the Utopians, shaken off the yoke of tyranny, and being much taken with those virtues which they observe among them, have come to desire that they would send magistrates to govern them; some changing them every year, and others every five years. At the end of their government they bring them back to Utopia, with great expressions of honor and esteem, and carry away others to govern in their stead. In this they seem to have fallen upon a very good expedient for their own happiness and safety; for since the good or ill condition of a nation depends so much upon their magistrates, they could not have made a better choice than by pitching on men whom no advantages can bias; for wealth is of no use to them, since they must so soon go back to their own country; and they being strangers among them, are not engaged in any of their heats or animosities; and it is certain that when public judicatories are swayed, either by avarice or partial affections, there must follow a dissolution of justice, the chief sinew of society.

The Utopians call those nations that come and ask magistrates from them, neighbors; but those to whom they have been of more particular service, friends. And as all other nations are perpetually either making leagues or breaking them, they never enter into an alliance with any State. They think leagues are useless things, and believe that if the common ties of humanity do not knit men together, the faith of promises will have no great effect; and they are the more confirmed in this by what they see among the nations round about them, who are no strict observers of leagues and treaties. We know how religiously they are observed in Europe, more particularly where the Christian doctrine is received, among whom they are sacred and inviolable; which is partly owing to the justice and goodness of the princes themselves, and partly to the reverence they pay to the popes; who as they are most religious observers of their own promises, so they exhort all other princes to perform theirs; and when fainter methods do not prevail, they compel them to it by the severity of the pastoral censure, and think that it would be the most indecent thing possible if men who are particularly distinguished by the title of the "faithful" should not religiously keep the faith of their treaties. But in that newfound world, which is not more distant from us in situation than the people are in their manners and course of life, there is no trusting to leagues, even though they were made with all the pomp of the most sacred ceremonies; on the contrary, they are on this account the sooner broken, some slight pretence being found in the words of the treaties, which are purposely couched in such ambiguous terms that they can never be so strictly bound but they will always find some loophole to escape at; and thus they break both their leagues and their faith. And this is done with such impudence, that those very men who value themselves on having suggested these expedients to their princes, would with a haughty scorn declaim against such craft, or, to speak plainer, such fraud and deceit, if they found private men make use of it in their bargains, and would readily say that they deserved to be hanged.

By this means it is, that all sorts of justice passes in the world for a low-spirited and vulgar virtue, far below the dignity of royal greatness. Or at least, there are set up two sorts of justice; the one is mean, and creeps on the ground, and therefore becomes none but the lower part of mankind, and so must be kept in severely by many restraints that it may not break out beyond the

bounds that are set to it. The other is the peculiar virtue of princes, which as it is more majestic than that which becomes the rabble, so takes a freer compass; and thus lawful and unlawful are only measured by pleasure and interest. These practices of the princes that lie about Utopia, who make so little account of their faith, seem to be the reasons that determine them to engage in no confederacies; perhaps they would change their mind if they lived among us; but yet though treaties were more religiously observed, they would still dislike the custom of making them; since the world has taken up a false maxim upon it, as if there were no tie of nature uniting one nation to another, only separated perhaps by a mountain or a river, and that all were born in a state of hostility, and so might lawfully do all that mischief to their neighbors against which there is no provision made by treaties; and that when treaties are made, they do not cut off the enmity, or restrain the license of preying upon each other, if by the unskilfulness of wording them there are not effectual provisos made against them. They, on the other hand, judge that no man is to be esteemed our enemy that has never injured us; and that the partnership of the human nature is instead of a league. And that kindness and good-nature unite men more effectually and with greater strength than any agreements whatsoever; since thereby the engagements of men's hearts become stronger than the bond and obligation of words.

## BOOK II: OF THEIR MILITARY DISCIPLINE

THEY detest war as a very brutal thing; and which, to the reproach of human nature, is more practised by men than by any sort of beasts. They, in opposition to the sentiments of almost all other nations, think that there is nothing more inglorious than that glory that is gained by war. And therefore though they accustom themselves daily to military exercises and the discipline of war-- in which not only their men but their women likewise are trained up, that in cases of necessity they may not be quite useless--yet they do not rashly engage in war, unless it be either to defend themselves, or their friends, from any unjust aggressors; or out of good-nature or in compassion assist an oppressed nation in shaking off the yoke of tyranny. They indeed help their friends, not only in defensive, but also in offensive wars; but they never do that unless they had been consulted before the breach was made, and being satisfied with the grounds on which they went, they had found that all demands of reparation were rejected, so that a war was unavoidable. This they think to be not only just, when one neighbor makes an inroad on another, by public order, and carry away the spoils; but when the merchants of one country are oppressed in another, either under pretence of some unjust laws, or by the perverse wresting of good ones. This they count a juster cause of war than the other, because those injuries are done under some color of laws.

This was the only ground of that war in which they engaged with the Nephelogetes against the Aleopolitanes, a little before our time; for the merchants of the former having, as they thought, met with great injustice among the latter, which, whether it was in itself right or wrong, drew on a terrible war, in which many of their neighbors were engaged; and their keenness in carrying it on being supported by their strength in maintaining it, it not only shook some very flourishing States, and very much afflicted others, but after a series of much mischief ended in the entire conquest and slavery of the Aleopolitanes, who though before the war they were in all respects much superior to the Nephelogetes, were yet subdued; but though the Utopians had assisted them in the war, yet they pretended to no share of the spoil.

But though they so vigorously assist their friends in obtaining reparation for the injuries they have received in affairs of this nature, yet if any such frauds were committed against themselves, provided no violence was done to their persons, they would only on their being refused satisfaction forbear trading with such a people. This is not because they consider their neighbors more than their own citizens; but since their neighbors trade everyone upon his own stock, fraud is a more sensible injury to them than it is to the Utopians, among whom the public in such a case only suffers. As they expect nothing in return for the merchandise they export but that in which they so much abound, and is of little use to them, the loss does not much affect them; they think

therefore it would be too severe to revenge a loss attended with so little inconvenience, either to their lives or their subsistence, with the death of many persons; but if any of their people is either killed or wounded wrongfully, whether it be done by public authority or only by private men, as soon as they hear of it they send ambassadors, and demand that the guilty persons may be delivered up to them; and if that is denied, they declare war; but if it be complied with, the offenders are condemned either to death or slavery.

They would be both troubled and ashamed of a bloody victory over their enemies, and think it would be as foolish a purchase as to buy the most valuable goods at too high a rate. And in no victory do they glory so much as in that which is gained by dexterity and good conduct, without bloodshed. In such cases they appoint public triumphs, and erect trophies to the honor of those who have succeeded; for then do they reckon that a man acts suitably to his nature when he conquers his enemy in such a way as that no other creature but a man could be capable of, and that is by the strength of his understanding. Bears, lions, boars, wolves, and dogs, and all other animals employ their bodily force one against another, in which as many of them are superior to men, both in strength and fierceness, so they are all subdued by his reason and understanding.

The only design of the Utopians in war is to obtain that by force, which if it had been granted them in time would have prevented the war; or if that cannot be done, to take so severe a revenge on those that have injured them that they may be terrified from doing the like for the time to come. By these ends they measure all their designs, and manage them so that it is visible that the appetite of fame or vainglory does not work so much on them as a just care of their own security.

As soon as they declare war, they take care to have a great many schedules, that are sealed with their common seal, affixed in the most conspicuous places of their enemies' country. This is carried secretly, and done in many places all at once. In these they promise great rewards to such as shall kill the prince, and lesser in proportion to such as shall kill any other persons, who are those on whom, next to the prince himself, they cast the chief balance of the war. And they double the sum to him that, instead of killing the person so marked out, shall take him alive and put him in their hands. They offer not only indemnity, but rewards, to such of the persons themselves that are so marked, if they will act against their countrymen; by this means those that are named in their schedules become not only distrustful of their fellow-citizens but are jealous of one another, and are much distracted by fear and danger; for it has often fallen out that many of them, and even the Prince himself, have been betrayed by those in whom they have trusted most; for the rewards that the Utopians offer are so unmeasurably great, that there is no sort of crime to which men cannot be drawn by them. They consider the risk that those run who undertake such services, and offer a recompense proportioned to the danger; not only a vast deal of gold, but great revenues in lands, that lie among other nations that are their friends, where they may go and enjoy them very securely; and they observe the promises they make of this kind most religiously.

They very much approve of this way of corrupting their enemies, though it appears to others to be base and cruel; but they look on it as a wise course, to make an end of what would be otherwise a long war, without so much as hazarding one battle to decide it. They think it likewise an act of mercy and love to mankind to prevent the great slaughter of those that must otherwise be killed in the progress of the war, both on their own side and on that of their enemies, by the death of a few that are most guilty; and that in so doing they are kind even to their enemies, and pity them no less than their own people, as knowing that the greater part of them do not engage in the, war of their own accord, but are driven into it by the passions of their prince.

If this method does not succeed with them, then they sow seeds of contention among their enemies, and animate the prince's brother, or some of the nobility, to aspire to the crown. If they cannot disunite them by domestic broils, then they engage their neighbors against them, and make them set on foot some old pretensions, which are never wanting to princes when they have occasion for them. These they plentifully supply with money, though but very sparingly with any auxiliary

troops: for they are so tender of their own people, that they would not willingly exchange one of them, even with the prince of their enemies' country.

But as they keep their gold and silver only for such an occasion, so when that offers itself they easily part with it, since it would be no inconvenience to them though they should reserve nothing of it to themselves. For besides the wealth that they have among them at home, they have a vast treasure abroad, many nations round about them being deep in their debt: so that they hire soldiers from all places for carrying on their wars, but chiefly from the Zapolets, who live 500 miles east of Utopia. They are a rude, wild, and fierce nation, who delight in the woods and rocks, among which they were born and bred up. They are hardened both against heat, cold, and labor, and know nothing of the delicacies of life. They do not apply themselves to agriculture, nor do they care either for their houses or their clothes. Cattle is all that they look after; and for the greatest part they live either by hunting, or upon rapine; and are made, as it were, only for war. They watch all opportunities of engaging in it, and very readily embrace such as are offered them. Great numbers of them will frequently go out, and offer themselves for a very low pay, to serve any that will employ them: they know none of the arts of life, but those that lead to the taking it away; they serve those that hire them, both with much courage and great fidelity; but will not engage to serve for any determined time, and agree upon such terms, that the next day they may go over to the enemies of those whom they serve, if they offer them a greater encouragement: and will perhaps return to them the day after that, upon a higher advance of their pay.

There are few wars in which they make not a considerable part of the armies of both sides: so it often falls out that they who are related, and were hired in the same country, and so have lived long and familiarly together, forgetting both their relations and former friendship, kill one another upon no other consideration than that of being hired to it for a little money, by princes of different interests; and such a regard have they for money, that they are easily wrought on by the difference of one penny a day to change sides. So entirely does their avarice influence them; and yet this money, which they value so highly, is of little use to them; for what they purchase thus with their blood, they quickly waste on luxury, which among them is but of a poor and miserable form.

This nation serves the Utopians against all people whatsoever, for they pay higher than any other. The Utopians hold this for a maxim, that as they seek out the best sort of men for their own use at home, so they make use of this worst sort of men for the consumption of war, and therefore they hire them with the offers of vast rewards, to expose themselves to all sorts of hazards, out of which the greater part never returns to claim their promises. Yet they make them good most religiously to such as escape. This animates them to adventure again, whenever there is occasion for it; for the Utopians are not at all troubled how many of these happen to be killed, and reckon it a service done to mankind if they could be a means to deliver the world from such a lewd and vicious sort of people; that seem to have run together as to the drain of human nature. Next to these they are served in their wars with those upon whose account they undertake them, and with the auxiliary troops of their other friends, to whom they join a few of their own people, and send some men of eminent and approved virtue to command in chief. There are two sent with him, who during his command are but private men, but the first is to succeed him if he should happen to be either killed or taken; and in case of the like misfortune to him, the third comes in his place; and thus they provide against ill events, that such accidents as may befall their generals may not endanger their armies.

When they draw out troops of their own people, they take such out of every city as freely offer themselves, for none are forced to go against their wills, since they think that if any man is pressed that wants courage, he will not only act faintly, but by his cowardice dishearten others. But if an invasion is made on their country they make use of such men, if they have good bodies,

though they are not brave; and either put them aboard their ships or place them on the walls of their towns, that being so posted they may find no opportunity of flying away; and thus either shame, the heat of action, or the impossibility of flying, bears down their cowardice; they often make a virtue of necessity and behave themselves well, because nothing else is left them. But as they force no man to go into any foreign war against his will, so they do not hinder those women who are willing to go along with their husbands; on the contrary, they encourage and praise them, and they stand often next their husbands in the front of the army. They also place together those who are related, parents and children, kindred, and those that are mutually allied, near one another; that those whom nature has inspired with the greatest zeal for assisting one another, may be the nearest and readiest to do it; and it is matter of great reproach if husband or wife survive one another, or if a child survives his parents, and therefore when they come to be engaged in action they continue to fight to the last man, if their enemies stand before them.

And as they use all prudent methods to avoid the endangering their own men, and if it is possible let all the action and danger fall upon the troops that they hire, so if it becomes necessary for themselves to engage, they then charge with as much courage as they avoided it before with prudence: nor is it a fierce charge at first, but it increases by degrees; and as they continue in action, they grow more obstinate and press harder upon the enemy, insomuch that they will much sooner die than give ground; for the certainty that their children will be well looked after when they are dead, frees them from all that anxiety concerning them which often masters men of great courage; and thus they are animated by a noble and invincible resolution. Their skill in military affairs increases their courage; and the wise sentiments which, according to the laws of their country, are instilled into them in their education, give additional vigor to their minds: for as they do not undervalue life so as prodigally to throw it away, they are not so indecently fond of it as to preserve it by base and unbecoming methods. In the greatest heat of action, the bravest of their youth, who have devoted themselves to that service, single out the general of their enemies, set on him either openly or by ambuscade, pursue him everywhere, and when spent and wearied out, are relieved by others, who never give over the pursuit; either attacking him with close weapons when they can get near him, or with those which wound at a distance, when others get in between them; so that unless he secures himself by flight, they seldom fail at last to kill or to take him prisoner.

When they have obtained a victory, they kill as few as possible, and are much more bent on taking many prisoners than on killing those that fly before them; nor do they ever let their men so loose in the pursuit of their enemies, as not to retain an entire body still in order; so that if they have been forced to engage the last of their battalions before they could gain the day, they will rather let their enemies all escape than pursue them, when their own army is in disorder; remembering well what has often fallen out to themselves, that when the main body of their army has been quite defeated and broken, when their enemies imagining the victory obtained, have let themselves loose into an irregular pursuit, a few of them that lay for a reserve, waiting a fit opportunity, have fallen on them in their chase, and when straggling in disorder and apprehensive of no danger, but counting the day their own, have turned the whole action, and wrestling out of their hands a victory that seemed certain and undoubted, while the vanquished have suddenly become victorious.

It is hard to tell whether they are more dexterous in laying or avoiding ambushes. They sometimes seem to fly when it is far from their thoughts; and when they intend to give ground, they do it so that it is very hard to find out their design. If they see they are ill posted, or are like to be overpowered by numbers, they then either march off in the night with great silence, or by some stratagem delude their enemies: if they retire in the daytime, they do it in such order, that it is no less dangerous to fall upon them in a retreat than in a march. They fortify their camps with a deep and large trench, and throw up the earth that is dug out of it for a wall; nor do they employ only their slaves in this, but the whole army works at it, except those that are then upon the guard; so that when so many hands are at work, a great line and a strong fortification are finished

in so short a time that it is scarce credible. Their armor is very strong for defence, and yet is not so heavy as to make them uneasy in their marches; they can even swim with it. All that are trained up to war practice swimming. Both horse and foot make great use of arrows, and are very expert. They have no swords, but fight with a pole-axe that is both sharp and heavy, by which they thrust or strike down an enemy. They are very good at finding out warlike machines, and disguise them so well, that the enemy does not perceive them till he feels the use of them; so that he cannot prepare such a defence as would render them useless; the chief consideration had in the making them is that they may be easily carried and managed.

If they agree to a truce, they observe it so religiously that no provocations will make them break it. They never lay their enemies' country waste nor burn their corn, and even in their marches they take all possible care that neither horse nor foot may tread it down, for they do not know but that they may have use for it-themselves. They hurt no man whom they find disarmed, unless he is a spy. When a town is surrendered to them, they take it into their protection; and when they carry a place by storm, they never plunder it, but put those only to the sword that opposed the rendering of it up, and make the rest of the garrison slaves, but for the other inhabitants, they do them no hurt; and if any of them had advised a surrender, they give them good rewards out of the estates of those that they condemn, and distribute the rest among their auxiliary troops, but they themselves take no share of the spoil.

When a war is ended, they do not oblige their friends to reimburse their expenses; but they obtain them of the conquered, either in money, which they keep for the next occasion, or in lands, out of which a constant revenue is to be paid them; by many increases, the revenue which they draw out from several countries on such occasions, is now risen to above 700,000 ducats a year. They send some of their own people to receive these revenues, who have orders to live magnificently, and like princes, by which means they consume much of it upon the place; and either bring over the rest to Utopia, or lend it to that nation in which it lies. This they most commonly do, unless some great occasion, which falls out but very seldom, should oblige them to call for it all. It is out of these lands that they assign rewards to such as they encourage to adventure on desperate attempts. If any prince that engages in war with them is making preparations for invading their country, they prevent him, and make his country the seat of the war; for they do not willingly suffer any war to break in upon their island; and if that should happen, they would only defend themselves by their own people, but would not call for auxiliary troops to their assistance.

## BOOK II: OF THE RELIGIONS OF THE UTOPIANS

THERE are several sorts of religions, not only in different parts of the island, but even in every town; some worshipping the sun, others the moon or one of the planets: some worship such men as have been eminent in former times for virtue or glory, not only as ordinary deities, but as the supreme God: yet the greater and wiser sort of them worship none of these, but adore one eternal, invisible, infinite, and incomprehensible Deity; as a being that is far above all our apprehensions, that is spread over the whole universe, not by His bulk, but by His power and virtue; Him they call the Father of All, and acknowledge that the beginnings, the increase, the progress, the vicissitudes, and the end of all things come only from Him; nor do they offer divine honors to any but to Him alone. And indeed, though they differ concerning other things, yet all agree in this, that they think there is one Supreme Being that made and governs the world, whom they call in the language of their country Mithras. They differ in this, that one thinks the god whom he worships is this Supreme Being, and another thinks that his idol is that God; but they all agree in one principle, that whoever is this Supreme Being, He is also that great Essence to whose glory and majesty all honors are ascribed by the consent of all nations.

By degrees, they fall off from the various superstitions that are among them, and grow up to that one religion that is the best and most in request; and there is no doubt to be made but that all the

others had vanished long ago, if some of those who advised them to lay aside their superstitions had not met with some unhappy accident, which being considered as inflicted by heaven, made them afraid that the God whose worship had like to have been abandoned, had interposed, and revenged themselves on those who despised their authority. After they had heard from us an account of the doctrine, the course of life, and the miracles of Christ, and of the wonderful constancy of so many martyrs, whose blood, so willingly offered up by them, was the chief occasion of spreading their religion over a vast number of nations; it is not to be imagined how inclined they were to receive it. I shall not determine whether this proceeded from any secret inspiration of God, or whether it was because it seemed so favorable to that community of goods, which is an opinion so particular as well as so dear to them; since they perceived that Christ and his followers lived by that rule and that it was still kept up in some communities among the sincerest sort of Christians. From whichever of these motives it might be, true it is that many of them came over to our religion, and were initiated into it by baptism. But as two of our number were dead, so none of the four that survived were in priest's orders; we therefore could only baptize them; so that to our great regret they could not partake of the other sacraments, that can only be administered by priests; but they are instructed concerning them, and long most vehemently for them. They have had great disputes among themselves, whether one chosen by them to be a priest would not be thereby qualified to do all the things that belong to that character, even though he had no authority derived from the Pope; and they seemed to be resolved to choose some for that employment, but they had not done it when I left them.

Those among them that have not received our religion, do not fright any from it, and use none ill that goes over to it; so that all the while I was there, one man was only punished on this occasion. He being newly baptized, did, notwithstanding all that we could say to the contrary, dispute publicly concerning the Christian religion with more zeal than discretion; and with so much heat, that he not only preferred our worship to theirs, but condemned all their rites as profane; and cried out against all that adhered to them, as impious and sacrilegious persons, that were to be damned to everlasting burnings. Upon his having frequently preached in this manner, he was seized, and after trial he was condemned to banishment, not for having disparaged their religion, but for his inflaming the people to sedition: for this is one of their most ancient laws, that no man ought to be punished for his religion. At the first constitution of their government, Utopus having understood that before his coming among them the old inhabitants had been engaged in great quarrels concerning religion, by which they were so divided among themselves, that he found it an easy thing to conquer them, since instead of uniting their forces against him, every different party in religion fought by themselves; after he had subdued them, he made a law that every man might be of what religion he pleased, and might endeavor to draw others to it by force of argument, and by amicable and modest ways, but without bitterness against those of other opinions; but that he ought to use no other force but that of persuasion, and was neither to mix with it reproaches nor violence; and such as did otherwise were to be condemned to banishment or slavery.

This law was made by Utopus, not only for preserving the public peace, which he saw suffered much by daily contentions and irreconcilable heats, but because he thought the interest of religion itself required it. He judged it not fit to determine anything rashly, and seemed to doubt whether those different forms of religion might not all come from God, who might inspire men in a different manner, and be pleased with this variety; he therefore thought it indecent and foolish for any man to threaten and terrify another to make him believe what did not appear to him to be true. And supposing that only one religion was really true, and the rest false, he imagined that the native force of truth would at last break forth and shine bright, if supported only by the strength of argument, and attended to with a gentle and unprejudiced mind; while, on the other hand, if such debates were carried on with violence and tumults, as the most wicked are always the most obstinate, so the best and most holy religion might be choked with superstition, as corn is with briars and thorns.

He therefore left men wholly to their liberty, that they might be free to believe as they should see

cause; only he made a solemn and severe law against such as should so far degenerate from the dignity of human nature as to think that our souls died with our bodies, or that the world was governed by chance, without a wise overruling Providence: for they all formerly believed that there was a state of rewards and punishments to the good and bad after this life; and they now look on those that think otherwise as scarce fit to be counted men, since they degrade so noble a being as the soul, and reckon it no better than a beast's: thus they are far from looking on such men as fit for human society, or to be citizens of a well-ordered commonwealth; since a man of such principles must needs, as oft as he dares do it, despise all their laws and customs: for there is no doubt to be made that a man who is afraid of nothing but the law, and apprehends nothing after death, will not scruple to break through all the laws of his country, either by fraud or force, when by this means he may satisfy his appetites. They never raise any that hold these maxims, either to honors or offices, nor employ them in any public trust, but despise them, as men of base and sordid minds: yet they do not punish them, because they lay this down as a maxim that a man cannot make himself believe anything he pleases; nor do they drive any to dissemble their thoughts by threatenings, so that men are not tempted to lie or disguise their opinions; which being a sort of fraud, is abhorred by the Utopians. They take care indeed to prevent their disputing in defence of these opinions, especially before the common people; but they suffer, and even encourage them to dispute concerning them in private with their priests and other grave men, being confident that they will be cured of those mad opinions by having reason laid before them.

There are many among them that run far to the other extreme, though it is neither thought an ill nor unreasonable opinion, and therefore is not at all discouraged. They think that the souls of beasts are immortal, though far inferior to the dignity of the human soul, and not capable of so great a happiness. They are almost all of them very firmly persuaded that good men will be infinitely happy in another state; so that though they are compassionate to all that are sick, yet they lament no man's death, except they see him loth to depart with life; for they look on this as a very ill presage, as if the soul, conscious to itself of guilt, and quite hopeless, was afraid to leave the body, from some secret hints of approaching misery. They think that such a man's appearance before God cannot be acceptable to him, who being called on, does not go out cheerfully, but is backward and unwilling, and is, as it were, dragged to it. They are struck with horror when they see any die in this manner, and carry them out in silence and with sorrow, and praying God that he would be merciful to the errors of the departed soul, they lay the body in the ground; but when any die cheerfully, and full of hope, they do not mourn for them, but sing hymns when they carry out their bodies, and commanding their souls very earnestly to God: their whole behavior is then rather grave than sad, they burn the body, and set up a pillar where the pile was made, with an inscription to the honor of the deceased.

When they come from the funeral, they discourse of his good life and worthy actions, but speak of nothing oftener and with more pleasure than of his serenity at the hour of death. They think such respect paid to the memory of good men is both the greatest incitement to engage others to follow their example, and the most acceptable worship that can be offered them; for they believe that though by the imperfection of human sight they are invisible to us, yet they are present among us, and hear those discourses that pass concerning themselves. They believe it inconsistent with the happiness of departed souls not to be at liberty to be where they will, and do not imagine them capable of the ingratitude of not desiring to see those friends with whom they lived on earth in the strictest bonds of love and kindness: besides they are persuaded that good men after death have these affections and all other good dispositions increased rather than diminished, and therefore conclude that they are still among the living, and observe all they say or do. From hence they engage in all their affairs with the greater confidence of success, as trusting to their protection; while this opinion of the presence of their ancestors is a restraint that prevents their engaging in ill designs.

They despise and laugh at auguries, and the other vain and superstitious ways of divination, so much observed among other nations; but have great reverence for such miracles as cannot flow

from any of the powers of nature, and look on them as effects and indications of the presence of the Supreme Being, of which they say many instances have occurred among them; and that sometimes their public prayers, which upon great and dangerous occasions they have solemnly put up to God, with assured confidence of being heard, have been answered in a miraculous manner.

They think the contemplating God in His works, and the adoring Him for them, is a very acceptable piece of worship to Him.

There are many among them, that upon a motive of religion neglect learning, and apply themselves to no sort of study; nor do they allow themselves any leisure time, but are perpetually employed, believing that by the good things that a man does he secures to himself that happiness that comes after death. Some of these visit the sick; others mend highways, cleanse ditches, repair bridges, or dig turf, gravel, or stones. Others fell and cleave timber, and bring wood, corn, and other necessaries on carts into their towns. Nor do these only serve the public, but they serve even private men, more than the slaves themselves do; for if there is anywhere a rough, hard, and sordid piece of work to be done, from which many are frightened by the labor and loathsomeness of it, if not the despair of accomplishing it, they cheerfully, and of their own accord, take that to their share; and by that means, as they ease others very much, so they afflict themselves, and spend their whole life in hard labor; and yet they do not value themselves upon this, nor lessen other people's credit to raise their own; but by their stooping to such servile employments, they are so far from being despised, that they are so much the more esteemed by the whole nation.

Of these there are two sorts; some live unmarried and chaste, and abstain from eating any sort of flesh; and thus weaning themselves from all the pleasures of the present life, which they account hurtful, they pursue, even by the hardest and painfullest methods possible, that blessedness which they hope for hereafter; and the nearer they approach to it, they are the more cheerful and earnest in their endeavors after it. Another sort of them is less willing to put themselves to much toil, and therefore prefer a married state to a single one; and as they do not deny themselves the pleasure of it, so they think the begetting of children is a debt which they owe to human nature and to their country; nor do they avoid any pleasure that does not hinder labor, and therefore eat flesh so much the more willingly, as they find that by this means they are the more able to work; the Utopians look upon these as the wiser sect, but they esteem the others as the most holy. They would indeed laugh at any man, who from the principles of reason would prefer an unmarried state to a married, or a life of labor to an easy life; but they reverence and admire such as do it from the motives of religion. There is nothing in which they are more cautious than in giving their opinion positively concerning any sort of religion. The men that lead those severe lives are called in the language of their country Brutheskas, which answers to those we call religious orders.

Their priests are men of eminent piety, and therefore they are but few for there are only thirteen in every town, one for every temple; but when they go to war, seven of these go out with their forces, and seven others are chosen to supply their room in their absence; but these enter again upon their employment when they return; and those who served in their absence attend upon the high-priest, till vacancies fall by death; for there is one set over all the rest. They are chosen by the people as the other magistrates are, by suffrages given in secret, for preventing of factions; and when they are chosen they are consecrated by the College of Priests. The care of all sacred things, the worship of God, and an inspection into the manners of the people, are committed to them. It is a reproach to a man to be sent for by any of them, or for them to speak to him in secret, for that always gives some suspicion. All that is incumbent on them is only to exhort and admonish the people; for the power of correcting and punishing ill men belongs wholly to the Prince and to the other magistrates. The severest thing that the priest does is the excluding those that are desperately wicked from joining in their worship. There is not any sort of punishment more dreaded by them than this, for as it loads them with infamy, so it fills them with secret horrors, such is their reverence to their religion; nor will their bodies be long exempted from

their share of trouble; for if they do not very quickly satisfy the priests of the truth of their repentance, they are seized on by the Senate, and punished for their impiety. The education of youth belongs to the priests, yet they do not take so much care of instructing them in letters as in forming their minds and manners aright; they use all possible methods to infuse very early into the tender and flexible minds of children such opinions as are both good in themselves and will be useful to their country. For when deep impressions of these things are made at that age, they follow men through the whole course of their lives, and conduce much to preserve the peace of the government, which suffers by nothing more than by vices that rise out of ill-opinions. The wives of their priests are the most extraordinary women of the whole country; sometimes the women themselves are made priests, though that falls out but seldom, nor are any but ancient widows chosen into that order.

None of the magistrates has greater honor paid him than is paid the priests; and if they should happen to commit any crime, they would not be questioned for it. Their punishment is left to God, and to their own consciences; for they do not think it lawful to lay hands on any man, how wicked soever he is, that has been in a peculiar manner dedicated to God; nor do they find any great inconvenience in this, both because they have so few priests, and because these are chosen with much caution, so that it must be a very unusual thing to find one who merely out of regard to his virtue, and for his being esteemed a singularly good man, was raised up to so great a dignity, degenerate into corruption and vice. And if such a thing should fall out, for man is a changeable creature, yet there being few priests, and these having no authority but what rises out of the respect that is paid them, nothing of great consequence to the public can proceed from the indemnity that the priests enjoy.

They have indeed very few of them, lest greater numbers sharing in the same honor might make the dignity of that order which they esteem so highly to sink in its reputation. They also think it difficult to find out many of such an exalted pitch of goodness, as to be equal to that dignity which demands the exercise of more than ordinary virtues. Nor are the priests in greater veneration among them than they are among their neighboring nations, as you may imagine by that which I think gives occasion for it.

When the Utopians engage in battle, the priests who accompany them to the war, apparelled in their sacred vestments, kneel down during the action, in a place not far from the field; and lifting up their hands to heaven, pray, first for peace, and then for victory to their own side, and particularly that it may be gained without the effusion of much blood on either side; and when the victory turns to their side, they run in among their own men to restrain their fury; and if any of their enemies see them, or call to them, they are preserved by that means; and such as can come so near them as to touch their garments, have not only their lives, but their fortunes secured to them; it is upon this account that all the nations round about consider them so much, and treat them with such reverence, that they have been often no less able to preserve their own people from the fury of their enemies, than to save their enemies from their rage; for it has sometimes fallen out, that when their armies have been in disorder, and forced to fly, so that their enemies were running upon the slaughter and spoil, the priests by interposing have separated them from one another, and stopped the effusion of more blood; so that by their mediation a peace has been concluded on very reasonable terms; nor is there any nation about them so fierce, cruel, or barbarous as not to look upon their persons as sacred and inviolable.

The first and the last day of the month, and of the year, is a festival. They measure their months by the course of the moon, and their years by the course of the sun. The first days are called in their language the Cynemernes, and the last the Trapemernes; which answers in our language to the festival that begins, or ends, the season.

They have magnificent temples, that are not only nobly built, but extremely spacious; which is the more necessary, as they have so few of them; they are a little dark within, which proceeds not

from any error in the architecture, but is done with design; for their priests think that too much light dissipates the thoughts, and that a more moderate degree of it both recollects the mind and raises devotion. Though there are many different forms of religion among them, yet all these, how various soever, agree in the main point, which is the worshipping of the Divine Essence; and therefore there is nothing to be seen or heard in their temples in which the several persuasions among them may not agree; for every sect performs those rites that are peculiar to it, in their private houses, nor is there anything in the public worship that contradicts the particular ways of those different sects. There are no images for God in their temples, so that everyone may represent Him to his thoughts, according to the way of his religion; nor do they call this one God by any other name than that of Mithras, which is the common name by which they all express the Divine Essence, whatsoever otherwise they think it to be; nor are there any prayers among them but such as every one of them may use without prejudice to his own opinion.

They meet in their temples on the evening of the festival that concludes a season: and not having yet broke their fast, they thank God for their good success during that year or month, which is then at an end; and the next day being that which begins the new season, they meet early in their temples, to pray for the happy progress of all their affairs during that period upon which they then enter. In the festival which concludes the period, before they go to the temple, both wives and children fall on their knees before their husbands or parents, and confess everything in which they have either erred or failed in their duty, and beg pardon for it. Thus all little discontents in families are removed, that they may offer up their devotions with a pure and serene mind; for they hold it a great impiety to enter upon them with disturbed thoughts, or with a consciousness of their bearing hatred or anger in their hearts to any person whatsoever; and think that they should become liable to severe punishments if they presumed to offer sacrifices without cleansing their hearts, and reconciling all their differences. In the temples, the two sexes are separated, the men go to the right hand, and the women to the left; and the males and females all place themselves before the head and master or mistress of that family to which they belong; so that those who have the government of them at home may see their deportment in public; and they intermingle them so, that the younger and the older may be set by one another; for if the younger sort were all set together, they would perhaps trifle away that time too much in which they ought to beget in themselves that religious dread of the Supreme Being, which is the greatest and almost the only incitement to virtue.

They offer up no living creature in sacrifice, nor do they think it suitable to the Divine Being, from whose bounty it is that these creatures have derived their lives, to take pleasure in their deaths, or the offering up of their blood. They burn incense and other sweet odors, and have a great number of wax lights during their worship; not out of any imagination that such oblations can add anything to the divine nature, which even prayers cannot do; but as it is a harmless and pure way of worshipping God, so they think those sweet savors and lights, together with some other ceremonies, by a secret and unaccountable virtue, elevate men's souls, and inflame them with greater energy and cheerfulness during the divine worship.

All the people appear in the temples in white garments, but the priest's vestments are parti-colored, and both the work and colors are wonderful. They are made of no rich materials, for they are neither embroidered nor set with precious stones, but are composed of the plumes of several birds, laid together with so much art and so neatly, that the true value of them is far beyond the costliest materials. They say that in the ordering and placing those plumes some dark mysteries are represented, which pass down among their priests in a secret tradition concerning them; and that they are as hieroglyphics, putting them in mind of the blessings that they have received from God, and of their duties both to Him and to their neighbors. As soon as the priest appears in those ornaments, they all fall prostrate on the ground, with so much reverence and so deep a silence that such as look on cannot but be struck with it, as if it were the effect of the appearance of a deity. After they have been for some time in this posture, they all stand up, upon a sign given by the priest, and sing hymns to the honor of God, some musical instruments playing all the while.

These are quite of another form than those used among us: but as many of them are much sweeter than ours, so others are made use of by us.

Yet in one thing they very much exceed us; all their music, both vocal and instrumental, is adapted to imitate and express the passions, and is so happily suited to every occasion, that whether the subject of the hymn be cheerful or formed to soothe or trouble the mind, or to express grief or remorse, the music takes the impression of whatever is represented, affects and kindles the passions, and works the sentiments deep into the hearts of the hearers. When this is done, both priests and people offer up very solemn prayers to God in a set form of words; and these are so composed, that whatsoever is pronounced by the whole assembly may be likewise applied by every man in particular to his own condition; in these they acknowledge God to be the author and governor of the world, and the fountain of all the good they receive, and therefore offer up to Him their thanksgiving; and in particular bless Him for His goodness in ordering it so that they are born under the happiest government in the world, and are of a religion which they hope is the truest of all others: but if they are mistaken, and if there is either a better government or a religion more acceptable to God, they implore His goodness to let them know it, vowing that they resolve to follow Him whithersoever He leads them. But if their government is the best and their religion the truest, then they pray that He may fortify them in it, and bring all the world both to the same rules of life, and to the same opinions concerning Himself; unless, according to the unsearchableness of His mind, He is pleased with a variety of religions. Then they pray that God may give them an easy passage at last to Himself; not presuming to set limits to Him, how early or late it should be; but if it may be wished for, without derogating from His supreme authority, they desire to be quickly delivered, and to be taken to Himself, though by the most terrible kind of death, rather than to be detained long from seeing Him by the most prosperous course of life. When this prayer is ended, they all fall down again upon the ground, and after a little while they rise up, go home to dinner, and spend the rest of the day in diversion or military exercises.

Thus have I described to you, as particularly as I could, the constitution of that commonwealth, which I do not only think the best in the world, but indeed the only commonwealth that truly deserves that name. In all other places it is visible, that while people talk of a commonwealth, every man only seeks his own wealth; but there, where no man has any property, all men zealously pursue the good of the public: and, indeed, it is no wonder to see men act so differently; for in other commonwealths, every man knows that unless he provides for himself, how flourishing soever the commonwealth may be, he must die of hunger; so that he sees the necessity of preferring his own concerns to the public; but in Utopia, where every man has a right to everything, they all know that if care is taken to keep the public stores full, no private man can want anything; for among them there is no unequal distribution, so that no man is poor, none in necessity; and though no man has anything, yet they are all rich; for what can make a man so rich as to lead a serene and cheerful life, free from anxieties; neither apprehending want himself, nor vexed with the endless complaints of his wife? He is not afraid of the misery of his children, nor is he contriving how to raise a portion for his daughters, but is secure in this, that both he and his wife, his children and grandchildren, to as many generations as he can fancy, will all live both plentifully and happily; since among them there is no less care taken of those who were once engaged in labor, but grow afterward unable to follow it, than there is elsewhere of these that continue still employed. I would gladly hear any man compare the justice that is among them with that of all other nations; among whom, may I perish, if I see anything that looks either like justice or equity: for what justice is there in this, that a nobleman, a goldsmith, a banker, or any other man, that either does nothing at all, or at best is employed in things that are of no use to the public, should live in great luxury and splendor, upon what is so ill acquired; and a mean man, a carter, a smith, or a ploughman, that works harder even than the beasts themselves, and is employed in labors so necessary, that no commonwealth could hold out a year without them, can only earn so poor a livelihood, and must lead so miserable a life, that the condition of the beasts is much better than theirs? For as the beasts do not work so constantly, so they feed almost as well, and with more pleasure; and have no anxiety about what is to come, whilst these men are

depressed by a barren and fruitless employment, and tormented with the apprehensions of want in their old age; since that which they get by their daily labor does but maintain them at present, and is consumed as fast as it comes in, there is no overplus left to lay up for old age. Is not that government both unjust and ungrateful, that is so prodigal of its favors to those that are called gentlemen, or goldsmiths, or such others who are idle, or live either by flattery, or by contriving the arts of vain pleasure; and on the other hand, takes no care of those of a meaner sort, such as ploughmen, colliers, and smiths, without whom it could not subsist? But after the public has reaped all the advantage of their service, and they come to be oppressed with age, sickness, and want, all their labors and the good they have done is forgotten; and all the recompense given them is that they are left to die in great misery. The richer sort are often endeavoring to bring the hire of laborers lower, not only by their fraudulent practices, but by the laws which they procure to be made to that effect; so that though it is a thing most unjust in itself, to give such small rewards to those who deserve so well of the public, yet they have given those hardships the name and color of justice, by procuring laws to be made for regulating them. Therefore I must say that, as I hope for mercy, I can have no other notion of all the other governments that I see or know, than that they are a conspiracy of the rich, who on pretence of managing the public only pursue their private ends, and devise all the ways and arts they can find out; first, that they may, without danger, preserve all that they have so ill acquired, and then that they may engage the poor to toil and labor for them at as low rates as possible, and oppress them as much as they please. And if they can but prevail to get these contrivances established by the show of public authority, which is considered as the representative of the whole people, then they are accounted laws. Yet these wicked men after they have, by a most insatiable covetousness, divided that among themselves with which all the rest might have been well supplied, are far from that happiness that is enjoyed among the Utopians: for the use as well as the desire of money being extinguished, much anxiety and great occasions of mischief is cut off with it. And who does not see that the frauds, thefts, robberies, quarrels, tumults, contentions, seditions, murders, treacheries, and witchcrafts, which are indeed rather punished than restrained by the severities of law, would all fall off, if money were not any more valued by the world? Men's fears, solicitudes, cares, labors, and watchings, would all perish in the same moment with the value of money: even poverty itself, for the relief of which money seems most necessary, would fall. But, in order to the apprehending this aright, take one instance.

Consider any year that has been so unfruitful that many thousands have died of hunger; and yet if at the end of that year a survey was made of the granaries of all the rich men that have hoarded up the corn, it would be found that there was enough among them to have prevented all that consumption of men that perished in misery; and that if it had been distributed among them, none would have felt the terrible effects of that scarcity; so easy a thing would it be to supply all the necessities of life, if that blessed thing called money, which is pretended to be invented for procuring them, was not really the only thing that obstructed their being procured!

I do not doubt but rich men are sensible of this, and that they well know how much a greater happiness it is to want nothing necessary than to abound in many superfluities, and to be rescued out of so much misery than to abound with so much wealth; and I cannot think but the sense of every man's interest, added to the authority of Christ's commands, who as He was infinitely wise, knew what was best, and was not less good in discovering it to us, would have drawn all the world over to the laws of the Utopians, if pride, that plague of human nature, that source of so much misery, did not hinder it; for this vice does not measure happiness so much by its own conveniences as by the miseries of others; and would not be satisfied with being thought a goddess, if none were left that were miserable, over whom she might insult. Pride thinks its own happiness shines the brighter by comparing it with the misfortunes of other persons; that by displaying its own wealth, they may feel their poverty the more sensibly. This is that infernal serpent that creeps into the breasts of mortals, and possesses them too much to be easily drawn out; and therefore I am glad that the Utopians have fallen upon this form of government, in which I wish that all the world could be so wise as to imitate them; for they have indeed laid down such a

scheme and foundation of policy, that as men live happily under it, so it is like to be of great continuance; for they having rooted out of the minds of their people all the seeds both of ambition and faction, there is no danger of any commotion at home; which alone has been the ruin of many States that seemed otherwise to be well secured; but as long as they live in peace at home, and are governed by such good laws, the envy of all their neighboring princes, who have often though in vain attempted their ruin, will never be able to put their State into any commotion or disorder.

When Raphael had thus made an end of speaking, though many things occurred to me, both concerning the manners and laws of that people, that seemed very absurd, as well in their way of making war, as in their notions of religion and divine matters; together with several other particulars, but chiefly what seemed the foundation of all the rest, their living in common, without the use of money, by which all nobility, magnificence, splendor, and majesty, which, according to the common opinion, are the true ornaments of a nation, would be quite taken away;-- yet since I perceived that Raphael was weary, and was not sure whether he could easily bear contradiction, remembering that he had taken notice of some who seemed to think they were bound in honor to support the credit of their own wisdom, by finding out something to censure in all other men's inventions, besides their own; I only commended their constitution, and the account he had given of it in general; and so taking him by the hand, carried him to supper, and told him I would find out some other time for examining this subject more particularly, and for discoursing more copiously upon it; and indeed I shall be glad to embrace an opportunity of doing it. In the meanwhile, though it must be confessed that he is both a very learned man, and a person who has obtained a great knowledge of the world, I cannot perfectly agree to everything he has related; however, there are many things in the Commonwealth of Utopia that I rather wish, than hope, to see followed in our governments.

THE END







1626  
NEW ATLANTIS  
by Francis Bacon

WE sailed from Peru, where we had continued by the space of one whole year, for China and Japan, by the South Sea, taking with us victuals for twelve months; and had good winds from the east, though soft and weak, for five months' space and more. But then the wind came about, and settled in the west for many days, so as we could make little or no way, and were sometimes in purpose to turn back. But then again there arose strong and great winds from the south, with a point east; which carried us up, for all that we could do, toward the north: by which time our victuals failed us, though we had made good spare of them. So that finding ourselves, in the midst of the greatest wilderness of waters in the world, without victual, we gave ourselves for lost men, and prepared for death. Yet we did lift up our hearts and voices to God above, who sheweth His wonders in the deep; beseeching Him of His mercy that as in the beginning He discovered the face of the deep, and brought forth dry land, so He would now discover land to us, that we might not perish.

And it came to pass that the next day about evening we saw within a kenning before us, toward the north, as it were thick clouds, which did put us in some hope of land, knowing how that part of the South Sea was utterly unknown, and might have islands or continents that hitherto were not come to light. Wherefore we bent our course thither, where we saw the appearance of land, all that night; and in the dawning of next day we might plainly discern that it was a land flat to our sight, and full of boscage, which made it show the more dark. And after an hour and a half's sailing, we entered into a good haven, being the port of a fair city. Not great, indeed, but well built, and that gave a pleasant view from the sea. And we thinking every minute long till we were on land, came close to the shore and offered to land. But straightway we saw divers of the people, with batons in their hands, as it were forbidding us to land: yet without any cries or fierceness, but only as warning us off, by signs that they made. Whereupon being not a little discomfited, we were advising with ourselves what we should do. During which time there made forth to us a small boat, with about eight persons in it, whereof one of them had in his hand a tipstaff of a yellow cane, tipped at both ends with blue, who made aboard our ship, without any show of distrust at all. And when he saw one of our number present himself somewhat afore the rest, he drew forth a little scroll of parchment (somewhat yellower than our parchment, and shining like the leaves of writing-tables, but otherwise soft and flexible), and delivered it to our foremost man. In which scroll were written in ancient Hebrew, and in ancient Greek, and in good Latin of the school, and in Spanish these words: "Land ye not, none of you, and provide to be gone from this coast within sixteen days, except you have further time given you; meanwhile, if you want fresh water, or victual, or help for your sick, or that your ship needeth repair, write down your wants, and you shall have that which belongeth to mercy." This scroll was signed with a stamp of cherubim's wings, not spread, but hanging down-ward; and by them a cross.

This being delivered, the officer returned, and left only a servant with us to receive our answer. Consulting hereupon among ourselves, we were much perplexed. The denial of landing, and hasty warning us away, troubled us much: on the other side, to find that the people had languages, and were so full of humanity, did comfort us not a little. And above all, the sign of the cross to that instrument was to us a great rejoicing, and as it were a certain presage of good. Our answer was in the Spanish tongue, "That for our ship, it was well; for we had rather met with calms and contrary winds, than any tempests. For our sick, they were many, and in very ill case; so that if they were not permitted to land, they ran in danger of their lives." Our other wants we set down in particular, adding, "That we had some little store of merchandise, which if it pleased them to deal for, it might supply our wants, without being chargeable unto them." We offered some reward in pistolets unto the servant, and a piece of crimson velvet to be presented to the officer; but the servant took them not, nor would scarce look upon them; and so left us, and went back in another little boat which was sent for him.

About three hours after we had despatched our answer, there came toward us a person (as it seemed) of a place. He had on him a gown with wide sleeves, of a kind of water chamolet, of an excellent azure color, far more glossy than ours; his under-apparel was green, and so was his hat, being in the form of a turban, daintily made, and not so huge as the Turkish turbans; and the locks of his hair came down below the brims of it. A reverend man was he to behold. He came in a boat, gilt in some part of it, with four persons more only in that boat; and was followed by another boat, wherein were some twenty. When he was come within a flight-shot of our ship, signs were made to us that we should send forth some to meet him upon the water, which we presently did in our ship-boat, sending the principal man amongst us save one, and four of our number with him. When we were come within six yards of their boat, they called to us to stay, and not to approach far- ther, which we did.

And thereupon the man, whom I before described, stood up, and with a loud voice in Spanish asked, "Are ye Christians?" We answered, "We were;" fearing the less, because of the cross we had seen in the subscription. At which answer the said person lift up his right hand toward heaven, and drew it softly to his mouth (which is the gesture they use, when they thank God), and then said: "If ye will swear, all of you, by the merits of the Saviour, that ye are no pirates; nor have shed blood, lawfully or unlawfully, within forty days past; you may have license to come on land." We said, "We were all ready to take that oath." Whereupon one of those that were with him, being (as it seemed) a notary, made an entry of this act. Which done, another of the attendants of the great per- son, which was with him in the same boat, after his lord had spoken a little to him, said aloud: "My lord would have you know that it is not of pride, or greatness, that he cometh not aboard your ship; but for that in your answer you declare that you have many sick amongst you, he was warned by the conser- vator of health of the city that he should keep a distance." We bowed ourselves toward him and answered: "We were his humble servants; and accounted for great honor and singular humanity toward us, that which was already done; but hoped well that the nature of the sickness of our men was not infectious."

So he returned; and awhile after came the notary to us aboard our ship, holding in his hand a fruit of that country, like an orange, but of color between orange-tawny and scarlet, which cast a most excellent odor. He used it (as it seemed) for a preservative against infection. He gave us our oath, "By the name of Jesus, and His merits," and after told us that the next day, by six of the clock in the morning, we should be sent to, and brought to the strangers' house (so he called it), where we should be accommodated of things, both for our whole and for our sick. So he left us; and when we offered him some pistolets, he smiling, said, "He must not be twice paid for one labor:" meaning (as I take it) that he had salary sufficient of the State for his service. For (as I after learned) they call an officer that taketh rewards twice paid.

The next morning early there came to us the same officer that came to us at first, with his cane, and told us he came to conduct us to the strangers' house; and that he had pre- vented the hour, because we might have the whole day before us for our business. "For," said he, "if you will follow my advice, there shall first go with me some few of you, and see the place, and how it may be made convenient for you; and then you may send for your sick, and the rest of your num- ber which ye will bring on land." We thanked him and said, "That his care which he took of desolate strangers, God would reward." And so six of us went on land with him; and when we were on land, he went before us, and turned to us and said "he was but our servant and our guide." He led us through three fair streets; and all the way we went there were gathered some people on both sides, standing in a row; but in so civil a fashion, as if it had been, not to wonder at us, but to welcome us; and divers of them, as we passed by them, put their arms a little abroad, which is their gesture when they bid any welcome.

The strangers' house is a fair and spacious house, built of brick, of somewhat a bluer color than our brick; and with handsome windows, some of glass, some of a kind of cambric oiled. He brought

us first into a fair parlor above stairs, and then asked us "what number of persons we were? and how many sick?" We answered, "We were in all (sick and whole) one-and-fifty persons, whereof our sick were seventeen." He desired us have patience a little, and to stay till he came back to us, which was about an hour after; and then he led us to see the chambers which were provided for us, being in number nineteen. They having cast it (as it seemeth) that four of those chambers, which were better than the rest, might receive four of the principal men of our company; and lodge them alone by themselves; and the other fifteen chambers were to lodge us, two and two together. The chambers were handsome and cheerful chambers, and furnished civilly. Then he led us to a long gallery, like a dorture, where he showed us all along the one side (for the other side was but wall and window) seventeen cells, very neat ones, having partitions of cedar wood. Which gallery and cells, being in all forty (many more than we needed), were instituted as an infirmary for sick persons. And he told us withal, that as any of our sick waxed well, he might be removed from his cell to a chamber; for which purpose there were set forth ten spare chambers, besides the number we spake of before.

This done, he brought us back to the parlor, and lifting up his cane a little (as they do when they give any charge or command), said to us: "Ye are to know that the custom of the land requireth that after this day and to-morrow (which we give you for removing your people from your ship), you are to keep within doors for three days. But let it not trouble you, nor do not think yourselves restrained, but rather left to your rest and ease. You shall want nothing; and there are six of our people appointed to attend you for any business you may have abroad." We gave him thanks with all affection and respect, and said, "God surely is manifested in this land." We offered him also twenty pistolets; but he smiled, and only said: "What? Twice paid!" And so he left us. Soon after our dinner was served in; which was right good viands, both for bread and meat: better than any collegiate diet that I have known in Europe. We had also drink of three sorts, all wholesome and good: wine of the grape; a drink of grain, such as is with us our ale, but more clear; and a kind of cider made of a fruit of that country, a wonderful pleasing and refreshing drink. Besides, there were brought in to us great store of those scarlet oranges for our sick; which (they said) were an assured remedy for sickness taken at sea. There was given us also a box of small gray or whitish pills, which they wished our sick should take, one of the pills every night before sleep; which (they said) would hasten their recovery.

The next day, after that our trouble of carriage and removing of our men and goods out of our ship was somewhat settled and quiet, I thought good to call our company together, and, when they were assembled, said unto them: "My dear friends, let us know ourselves, and how it standeth with us. We are men cast on land, as Jonas was out of the whale's belly, when we were as buried in the deep; and now we are on land, we are but between death and life, for we are beyond both the Old World and the New; and whether ever we shall see Europe, God only knoweth. It is a kind of miracle hath brought us hither, and it must be little less that shall bring us hence. Therefore in regard of our deliverance past, and our danger present and to come, let us look up to God, and every man reform his own ways. Besides, we are come here among a Christian people, full of piety and humanity. Let us not bring that confusion of face upon ourselves, as to show our vices or unworthiness before them. Yet there is more, for they have by commandment (though in form of courtesy) cloistered us within these walls for three days; who knoweth whether it be not to take some taste of our manners and conditions? And if they find them bad, to banish us straightway; if good, to give us further time. For these men that they have given us for attendance, may withal have an eye upon us. Therefore, for God's love, and as we love the weal of our souls and bodies, let us so behave ourselves as we may be at peace with God and may find grace in the eyes of this people."

Our company with one voice thanked me for my good admonition, and promised me to live soberly and civilly, and without giving any the least occasion of offence. So we spent our three days joyfully, and without care, in expectation what would be done with us when they were expired. During which time, we had every hour joy of the amendment of our sick, who thought

themselves cast into some divine pool of healing, they mended so kindly and so fast.

The morrow after our three days were past, there came to us a new man, that we had not seen before, clothed in blue as the former was, save that his turban was white with a small red cross on top. He had also a tippet of fine linen. At his coming in, he did bend to us a little, and put his arms abroad. We of our parts saluted him in a very lowly and submissive manner; as looking that from him we should receive sentence of life or death. He desired to speak with some few of us. Whereupon six of us only stayed, and the rest avoided the room. He said: "I am by office, governor of this house of strangers, and by vocation, I am a Christian priest, and therefore am come to you to offer you my service, both as strangers and chiefly as Christians. Some things I may tell you, which I think you will not be unwilling to hear. The State hath given you license to stay on land for the space of six weeks; and let it not trouble you if your occasions ask further time, for the law in this point is not precise; and I do not doubt but myself shall be able to obtain for you such further time as shall be convenient. Ye shall also understand that the strangers' house is at this time rich and much aforehand; for it hath laid up revenue these thirty-seven years, for so long it is since any stranger arrived in this part; and therefore take ye no care; the State will defray you all the time you stay. Neither shall you stay one day the less for that. As for any merchandise you have brought, ye shall be well used, and have your return, either in merchandise or in gold and silver, for to us it is all one. And if you have any other request to make, hide it not; for ye shall find we will not make your countenance to fall by the answer ye shall receive. Only this I must tell you, that none of you must go above a karan [that is with them a mile and a half] from the walls of the city, without special leave."

We answered, after we had looked awhile upon one another, admiring this gracious and parent-like usage, that we could not tell what to say, for we wanted words to express our thanks; and his noble free offers left us nothing to ask. It seemed to us that we had before us a picture of our salvation in heaven; for we that were awhile since in the jaws of death, were now brought into a place where we found nothing but consolations. For the commandment laid upon us, we would not fail to obey it, though it was impossible but our hearts should be inflamed to tread further upon this happy and holy ground. We added that our tongues should first cleave to the roofs of our mouths ere we should forget either this reverend person or this whole nation, in our prayers. We also most humbly besought him to accept of us as his true servants, by as just a right as ever men on earth were bounden; laying and presenting both our persons and all we had at his feet. He said he was a priest, and looked for a priest's reward, which was our brotherly love and the good of our souls and bodies. So he went from us, not without tears of tenderness in his eyes, and left us also confused with joy and kindness, saying among ourselves that we were come into a land of angels, which did appear to us daily, and prevent us with comforts, which we thought not of, much less expected.

The next day, about ten of the clock; the governor came to us again, and after salutations said familiarly that he was come to visit us, and called for a chair and sat him down; and we, being some ten of us (the rest were of the meaner sort or else gone abroad), sat down with him; and when we were set he began thus: "We of this island of Bensalem (for so they called it in their language) have this: that by means of our solitary situation, and of the laws of secrecy, which we have for our travellers, and our rare admission of strangers; we know well most part of the habitable world, and are ourselves unknown. Therefore because he that knoweth least is fittest to ask questions it is more reason, for the entertainment of the time, that ye ask me questions, than that I ask you." We answered, that we humbly thanked him that he would give us leave so to do. And that we conceived by the taste we had already, that there was no worldly thing on earth more worthy to be known than the state of that happy land. But above all, we said, since that we were met from the several ends of the world, and hoped assuredly that we should meet one day in the kingdom of heaven (for that we were both parts Christians), we desired to know (in respect that land was so remote, and so divided by vast and unknown seas from the land where our Saviour walked on earth) who was the apostle of that nation, and how it was converted to the faith? It

appeared in his face that he took great contentment in this our question; he said: "Ye knit my heart to you by asking this question in the first place; for it sheweth that you first seek the kingdom of heaven; and I shall gladly, and briefly, satisfy your demand.

"About twenty years after the ascension of our Saviour it came to pass, that there was seen by the people of Renfusa (a city upon the eastern coast of our island, within sight, the night was cloudy and calm), as it might be some mile in the sea, a great pillar of light; not sharp, but in form of a column, or cyl- inder, rising from the sea, a great way up toward heaven; and on the top of it was seen a large cross of light, more bright and resplendent than the body of the pillar. Upon which so strange a spectacle, the people of the city gathered apace together upon the sands, to wonder; and so after put themselves into a number of small boats to go nearer to this marvellous sight. But when the boats were come within about sixty yards of the pillar, they found themselves all bound, and could go no further, yet so as they might move to go about, but might not approach nearer; so as the boats stood all as in a theatre, beholding this light, as a heavenly sign. It so fell out that there was in one of the boats one of the wise men of the Society of Saloman's House (which house, or college, my good brethren, is the very eye of this kingdom), who having awhile attentively and devoutly viewed and contemplated this pillar and cross, fell down upon his face; and then raised himself upon his knees, and lifting up his hands to heaven, made his prayers in this manner:

"Lord God of heaven and earth; thou hast vouchsafed of thy grace, to those of our order to know thy works of creation, and true secrets of them; and to discern, as far as appertaineth to the generations of men, between divine miracles, works of nature, works of art and impostures, and illusions of all sorts. I do here acknowledge and testify before this people that the thing we now see before our eyes is thy finger, and a true mira- cle. And forasmuch as we learn in our books that thou never workest miracles, but to a divine and excellent end (for the laws of nature are thine own laws, and thou exceedest them not but upon great cause), we most humbly beseech thee to prosper this great sign, and to give us the interpretation and use of it in mercy; which thou dost in some part secretly prom- ise, by sending it unto us.'

"When he had made his prayer, he presently found the boat he was in movable and unbound; whereas all the rest remained still fast; and taking that for an assurance of leave to approach, he caused the boat to be softly and with silence rowed toward the pillar; but ere he came near it, the pillar and cross of light broke up, and cast itself abroad, as it were, into a firmament of many stars, which also vanished soon after, and there was noth- ing left to be seen but a small ark or chest of cedar, dry and not wet at all with water, though it swam; and in the fore end of it, which was toward him, grew a small green branch of palm; and when the wise man had taken it with all reverence into his boat, it opened of itself, and there were found in it a book and a letter, both written in fine parchment, and wrapped in sindons of linen. The book contained all the canonical books of the Old and New Testament, according as you have them (for we know well what the churches with you receive), and the Apoca- lypse itself; and some other books of the New Testament, which were not at that time written, were nevertheless in the book. And for the letter, it was in these words:

"I, Bartholomew, a servant of the Highest, and apostle of Jesus Christ, was warned by an angel that appeared to me in a vision of glory, that I should commit this ark to the floods of the sea. Therefore I do testify and declare unto that people where God shall ordain this ark to come to land, that in the same day is come unto them salvation and peace, and good-will from the Father, and from the Lord Jesus.'

"There was also in both these writings, as well the book as the letter, wrought a great miracle, conform to that of the apos- tles, in the original gift of tongues. For there being at that time, in this land, Hebrews, Persians, and Indians, besides the natives, everyone read upon the book and letter, as if they had been written in his own language. And thus was this land saved from infidelity (as the remain of the old world was from water) by an ark, through the apostolical and

miraculous evangelism of St. Bartholomew." And here he paused, and a messenger came and called him forth from us. So this was all that passed in that conference.

The next day the same governor came again to us immediately after dinner, and excused himself, saying that the day before he was called from us somewhat abruptly, but now he would make us amends, and spend time with us; if we held his company and conference agreeable. We answered that we held it so agreeable and pleasing to us, as we forgot both dangers past, and fears to come, for the time we heard him speak; and that we thought an hour spent with him was worth years of our former life. He bowed himself a little to us, and after we were set again, he said, "Well, the questions are on your part."

One of our number said, after a little pause, that there was a matter we were no less desirous to know than fearful to ask, lest we might presume too far. But, encouraged by his rare humanity toward us (that could scarce think ourselves strangers, being his vowed and professed servants), we would take the hardness to propound it; humbly beseeching him, if he thought it not fit to be answered, that he would pardon it, though he rejected it. We said, we well observed those his words, which he formerly spake, that this happy island, where we now stood, was known to few, and yet knew most of the nations of the world, which we found to be true, considering they had the languages of Europe, and knew much of our State and business; and yet we in Europe (notwithstanding all the remote discoveries and navigations of this last age) never heard any of the least inkling or glimpse of this island. This we found wonderful strange; for that all nations have interknowledge one of another, either by voyage into foreign parts, or by strangers that come to them; and though the traveller into a foreign country doth commonly know more by the eye than he that stayeth at home can by relation of the traveller; yet both ways suffice to make a mutual knowledge, in some degree, on both parts. But for this island, we never heard tell of any ship of theirs that had been seen to arrive upon any shore of Europe; no, nor of either the East or West Indies, nor yet of any ship of any other part of the world, that had made return for them. And yet the marvel rested not in this. For the situation of it (as his lordship said) in the secret conclave of such a vast sea might cause it. But then, that they should have knowledge of the languages, books, affairs, of those that lie such a distance from them, it was a thing we could not tell what to make of; for that it seemed to us a condition and propriety of divine powers and beings, to be hidden and unseen to others, and yet to have others open, and as in a light to them.

At this speech the governor gave a gracious smile and said that we did well to ask pardon for this question we now asked, for that it imported, as if we thought this land a land of magicians, that sent forth spirits of the air into all parts, to bring them news and intelligence of other countries. It was answered by us all, in all possible humbleness, but yet with a countenance taking knowledge, that we knew that he spake it but merrily. That we were apt enough to think there was something supernatural in this island, but yet rather as angelical than magical. But to let his lordship know truly what it was that made us tender and doubtful to ask this question, it was not any such conceit, but because we remembered he had given a touch in his former speech, that this land had laws of secrecy touching strangers. To this he said, "You remember it aright; and therefore in that I shall say to you, I must reserve some particulars, which it is not lawful for me to reveal, but there will be enough left to give you satisfaction.

"You shall understand (that which perhaps you will scarce think credible) that about 3,000 years ago, or somewhat more, the navigation of the world (especially for remote voyages) was greater than at this day. Do not think with yourselves, that I know not how much it is increased with you, within these threescore years; I know it well, and yet I say, greater then now; whether it was, that the example of the ark, that saved the remnant of men from the universal deluge, gave men confidence to venture upon the waters, or what it was; but such is the truth. The Phoenicians, and especially the Tyrians, had great fleets; so had the Carthaginians their colony, which is yet farther west. Toward the east the shipping of Egypt, and of Palestine, was likewise great. China also, and the great Atlantis (that you call America), which have now but junks and canoes,

abounded then in tall ships. This island (as appeareth by faithful registers of those times) had then 1,500 strong ships, of great content. Of all this there is with you sparing memory, or none; but we have large knowledge thereof.

"At that time this land was known and frequented by the ships and vessels of all the nations before named. And (as it cometh to pass) they had many times men of other countries, that were no sailors, that came with them; as Persians, Chal-deans, Arabians, so as almost all nations of might and fame re-sorted hither; of whom we have some stirps and little tribes with us at this day. And for our own ships, they went sundry voyages, as well to your straits, which you call the Pillars of Hercules, as to other parts in the Atlantic and Mediterranean seas; as to Paguin (which is the same with Cambalaine) and Quinzy, upon the Oriental seas, as far as to the borders of the East Tartary.

"At the same time, and an age after or more, the inhabitants of the great Atlantis did flourish. For though the narration and description which is made by a great man with you, that the descendants of Neptune planted there, and of the magnificient temple, palace, city, and hill; and the manifold streams of goodly navigable rivers, which as so many chains environed the same site and temple; and the several degrees of ascent, where-by men did climb up to the same, as if it had been a Scala Coeli; be all poetical and fabulous; yet so much is true, that the said country of Atlantis, as well that of Peru, then called Coya, as that of Mexico, then named Tyrambel, were mighty and proud kingdoms, in arms, shipping, and riches; so mighty, as at one time, or at least within the space of ten years, they both made two great expeditions; they of Tyrambel through the Atlantic to the Mediterranean Sea; and they of Coya, through the South Sea upon this our island; and for the former of these, which was into Europe, the same author among you, as it seemeth, had some relation from the Egyptian priest, whom he citeth. For assuredly, such a thing there was. But whether it were the ancient Athenians that had the glory of the repulse and resistance of those forces, I can say nothing; but certain it is there never came back either ship or man from that voyage. Neither had the other voyage of those of Coya upon us had better fortune, if they had not met with enemies of greater clemency. For the King of this island, by name Altabin, a wise man and a great warrior, knowing well both his own strength and that of his enemies, handled the matter so as he cut off their land forces from their ships, and entoiled both their navy and their camp with a greater power than theirs, both by sea and land; and compelled them to render themselves without striking a stroke; and after they were at his mercy, contenting himself only with their oath, that they should no more bear arms against him, dismissed them all in safety.

"But the divine revenge overtook not long after those proud enterprises. For within less than the space of 100 years the Great Atlantis was utterly lost and destroyed; not by a great earthquake, as your man saith, for that whole tract is little subject to earthquakes, but by a particular deluge, or inundation; those countries having at this day far greater rivers, and far higher mountains to pour down waters, than any part of the old world. But it is true that the same inundation was not deep, nor past forty foot, in most places, from the ground, so that although it destroyed man and beast generally, yet some few wild inhabitants of the wood escaped. Birds also were saved by flying to the high trees and woods. For as for men, although they had buildings in many places higher than the depth of the water, yet that inundation, though it were shallow, had a long continuance, whereby they of the vale that were not drowned perished for want of food, and other things necessary. So as marvel you not at the thin population of America, nor at the rudeness and ignorance of the people; for you must account your inhabitants of America as a young people, younger a thousand years at the least than the rest of the world, for that there was so much time between the universal flood and their particular inundation.

"For the poor remnant of human seed which remained in their mountains, peopled the country again slowly, by little and little, and being simple and a savage people (not like Noah and his sons, which was the chief family of the earth), they were not able to leave letters, arts, and civility to their posterity; and having likewise in their mountainous habitations been used, in

respect of the extreme cold of those regions, to clothe themselves with the skins of tigers, bears, and great hairy goats, that they have in those parts; when after they came down into the valley, and found the intolerable heats which are there, and knew no means of lighter apparel, they were forced to begin the custom of going naked, which continueth at this day. Only they take great pride and delight in the feathers of birds, and this also they took from those their ancestors of the mountains, who were invited unto it, by the infinite flight of birds, that came up to the high grounds, while the waters stood below. So you see, by this main accident of time, we lost our traffic with the Americans, with whom of all others, in regard they lay nearest to us, we had most commerce. As for the other parts of the world, it is most manifest that in the ages following (whether it were in respect of wars, or by a natural revolution of time) navigation did everywhere greatly decay, and specially far voyages (the rather by the use of galleys, and such vessels as could hardly brook the ocean) were altogether left and omitted. So then, that part of intercourse which could be from other nations to sail to us, you see how it hath long since ceased; except it were by some rare accident, as this of yours. But now of the cessation of that other part of intercourse, which might be by our sailing to other nations, I must yield you some other cause. But I cannot say if I shall say truly, but our shipping, for number, strength, mariners, pilots, and all things that appertain to navigation, is as great as ever; and therefore why we should sit at home, I shall now give you an account by itself; and it will draw nearer, to give you satisfaction, to your principal question.

"There reigned in this land, about 1,900 years ago, a King, whose memory of all others we most adore; not superstitiously, but as a divine instrument, though a mortal man: his name was Salomana; and we esteem him as the lawgiver of our nation. This King had a large heart, inscrutable for good; and was wholly bent to make his kingdom and people happy. He, therefore, taking into consideration how sufficient and substantive this land was, to maintain itself without any aid at all of the foreigner; being 5,000 miles in circuit, and of rare fertility of soil, in the greatest part thereof; and finding also the shipping of this country might be plentifully set on work, both by fishing and by transports from port to port, and likewise by sailing unto some small islands that are not far from us, and are under the crown and laws of this State; and recalling into his memory the happy and flourishing estate wherein this land then was, so as it might be a thousand ways altered to the worse, but scarce any one way to the better; though nothing wanted to his noble and heroical intentions, but only (as far as human foresight might reach) to give perpetuity to that which was in his time so happily established, therefore among his other fundamental laws of this kingdom he did ordain the interdicts and prohibitions which we have touching entrance of strangers; which at that time (though it was after the calamity of America) was frequent; doubting novelties and commixture of manners. It is true, the like law against the admission of strangers without license is an ancient law in the Kingdom of China, and yet continued in use. But there it is a poor thing; and hath made them a curious, ignorant, fearful, foolish nation. But our lawgiver made his law of another temper. For first, he hath preserved all points of humanity, in taking order and making provision for the relief of strangers distressed; whereof you have tasted."

At which speech (as reason was) we all rose up and bowed ourselves. He went on: "That King also still desiring to join humanity and policy together; and thinking it against humanity to detain strangers here against their wills, and against policy that they should return and discover their knowledge of this estate, he took this course; he did ordain, that of the strangers that should be permitted to land, as many at all times might depart as many as would; but as many as would stay, should have very good conditions, and means to live from the State. Wherein he saw so far, that now in so many ages since the prohibition, we have memory not of one ship that ever returned, and but of thirteen persons only, at several times, that chose to return in our bottoms. What those few that returned may have reported abroad, I know not. But you must think, whatsoever they have said, could be taken where they came but for a dream. Now for our travelling from hence into parts abroad, our lawgiver thought fit altogether to restrain it. So is it not in China. For the Chinese sail where they will, or can; which showeth, that their law of keeping out strangers is a law of

pusillanimity and fear. But this restraint of ours hath one only exception, which is admirable; preserving the good which cometh by communicating with strangers, and avoiding the hurt: and I will now open it to you.

"And here I shall seem a little to digress, but you will by and by find it pertinent. Ye shall understand, my dear friends, that among the excellent acts of that King, one above all hath the pre-eminence. It was the erection and institution of an order, or society, which we call Saloman's House, the noblest foundation, as we think, that ever was upon the earth, and the lantern of this kingdom. It is dedicated to the study of the works and creatures of God. Some think it beareth the found- er's name a little corrupted, as if it should be Solomon's House. But the records write it as it is spoken. So as I take it to be denominate of the King of the Hebrews, which is famous with you, and no strangers to us; for we have some parts of his works which with you are lost; namely, that natural history which he wrote of all plants, from the cedar of Libanus to the moss that groweth out of the wall; and of all things that have life and motion. This maketh me think that our King finding himself to symbolize, in many things, with that King of the Hebrews, which lived many years before him, honored him with the title of this foundation. And I am the rather induced to be of this opinion, for that I find in ancient records, this order or society is sometimes called Solomon's House, and sometimes the College of the Six Days' Works, whereby I am satisfied that our excellent King had learned from the Hebrews that God had created the world and all that therein is within six days: and therefore he instituted that house, for the finding out of the true nature of all things, whereby God might have the more glory in the workmanship of them, and men the more fruit in their use of them, did give it also that second name.

"But now to come to our present purpose. When the King had forbidden to all his people navigation into any part that was not under his crown, he made nevertheless this ordinance; that every twelve years there should be set forth out of this kingdom, two ships, appointed to several voyages; that in either of these ships there should be a mission of three of the fellows or brethren of Saloman's House, whose errand was only to give us knowledge of the affairs and state of those countries to which they were designed; and especially of the sciences, arts, manufactures, and inventions of all the world; and withal to bring unto us books, instruments, and patterns in every kind: that the ships, after they had landed the brethren, should re- turn; and that the brethren should stay abroad till the new mis- sion, the ships are not otherwise fraught than with store of victuals, and good quantity of treasure to remain with the brethren, for the buying of such things, and rewarding of such persons, as they should think fit. Now for me to tell you how the vulgar sort of mariners are contained from being discovered at land, and how they must be put on shore for any time, color themselves under the names of other nations, and to what places these voyages have been designed; and what places of rendez- vous are appointed for the new missions, and the like circum- stances of the practice, I may not do it, neither is it much to your desire. But thus you see we maintain a trade, not for gold, silver, or jewels, nor for silks, nor for spices, nor any other commodity of matter; but only for God's first creature, which was light; to have light, I say, of the growth of all parts of the world."

And when he had said this, he was silent, and so were we all; for indeed we were all astonished to hear so strange things so probably told. And he perceiving that we were willing to say somewhat, but had it not ready, in great courtesy took us off, and descended to ask us questions of our voyage and fortunes, and in the end concluded that we might do well to think with ourselves what time of stay we would demand of the State, and bade us not to scant ourselves; for he would procure such time as we desired. Whereupon we all rose up and pre- sented ourselves to kiss the skirt of his tippet, but he would not suffer us, and so took his leave. But when it came once among our people that the State used to offer conditions to strangers that would stay, we had work enough to get any of our men to look to our ship, and to keep them from going presently to the governor to crave conditions; but with much ado we restrained them, till we might agree what course to take.

We took ourselves now for freemen, seeing there was no danger of our utter perdition, and lived

most joyfully, going abroad and seeing what was to be seen in the city and places adjacent, within our teder; and obtaining acquaintance with many of the city, not of the meanest quality, at whose hands we found such humanity, and such a freedom and desire to take strangers, as it were, into their bosom, as was enough to make us forget all that was dear to us in our own countries, and continually we met with many things, right worthy of observation and relation; as indeed, if there be a mirror in the world, worthy to hold men's eyes, it is that country. One day there were two of our company bidden to a feast of the family, as they call it; a most natural, pious, and reverend custom it is, showing that nation to be compounded of all goodness. This is the manner of it; it is granted to any man that shall live to see thirty per- sons descended of his body, alive together, and all above three years old, to make this feast, which is done at the cost of the State. The father of the family, whom they call the tirsan, two days before the feast, taketh to him three of such friends as he liketh to choose, and is assisted also by the governor of the city or place where the feast is celebrated; and all the per- sons of the family, of both sexes, are summoned to attend him. These two days the tirsan sitteth in consultation, concerning the good estate of the family. There, if there be any discord or suits between any of the family, they are compounded and appeased. There, if any of the family be distressed or decayed, order is taken for their relief, and competent means to live. There, if any be subject to vice, or take ill-courses, they are reproved and censured. So, likewise, direction is given touch- ing marriages, and the courses of life which any of them should take, with divers other the like orders and advices. The gov- ernor sitteth to the end, to put in execution, by his public au- thority, the decrees and orders of the tirsan, if they should be disobeyed, though that seldom needeth; such reverence and obedience they give to the order of nature.

The tirsan doth also then ever choose one man from among his sons, to live in house with him, who is called ever after the Son of the Vine. The reason will hereafter appear. On the feast day, the father, or tirsan, cometh forth after divine service into a large room where the feast is celebrated; which room hath a half-pace at the upper end. Against the wall, in the middle of the half-pace, is a chair placed for him, with a table and carpet before it. Over the chair is a state, made round or oval and it is of ivy; an ivy somewhat whiter than ours, like the leaf of a silver-asp, but more shining; for it is green all win- ter. And the state is curiously wrought with silver and silk of divers colors, broiding or binding in the ivy; and is ever of the work of some of the daughters of the family, and veiled over at the top, with a fine net of silk and silver. But the substance of it is true ivy; whereof after it is taken down, the friends of the family are desirous to have some leaf or sprig to keep. The tirsan cometh forth with all his generation or lineage, the males before him, and the females following him; and if there be a mother, from whose body the whole lineage is descended, there is a traverse placed in a loft above on the right hand of the chair, with a privy door, and a carved window of glass, leaded with gold and blue; where she sitteth, but is not seen.

When the tirsan is come forth, he sitteth down in the chair; and all the lineage place themselves against the wall, both at his back, and upon the return of the half-pace, in order of their years) without difference of sex, and stand upon their feet. When he is set, the room being always full of company, but well kept and without disorder, after some pause there cometh in from the lower end of the room a taratan (which is as much as a herald), and on either side of him two young lads: whereof one carrieth a scroll of their shining yellow parchment, and the other a cluster of grapes of gold, with a long foot or stalk. The herald and children are clothed with mantles of sea-water-green satin; but the herald's mantle is streamed with gold, and hath a train. Then the herald with three courtesies, or rather inclinations, cometh up as far as the half-pace, and there first taketh into his hand the scroll. This scroll is the King's char- ter, containing gift of revenue, and many privileges, exemp- tions, and points of honor, granted to the father of the family; and it is ever styled and directed, "To such an one, our well- beloved friend and creditor," which is a title proper only to this case. For they say, the King is debtor to no man, but for propagation of his subjects; the seal set to the King's charter is the King's image, embossed or moulded in gold; and though such charters be expedited of course, and as of right, yet they are varied by discretion, according to the number and dignity of the family. This charter the herald readeth aloud; and

while it is read, the father, or tirsan, standeth up, supported by two of his sons, such as he chooseth.

Then the herald mounteth the half-pace, and delivereth the charter into his hand: and with that there is an acclamation, by all that are present, in their language, which is thus much, "Happy are the people of Bensalem." Then the herald taketh into his hand from the other child the cluster of grapes, which is of gold; both the stalk, and the grapes. But the grapes are daintily enamelled: and if the males of the family be the greater number, the grapes are enamelled purple, with a little sun set on the top; if the females, then they are enamelled into a greenish yellow, with a crescent on the top. The grapes are in number as many as there are descendants of the family. This golden cluster the herald delivereth also to the tirsan; who presently delivereth it over to that son that he had formerly chosen, to be in house with him: who beareth it before his father, as an ensign of honor, when he goeth in public ever after; and is thereupon called the Son of the Vine. After this ceremony ended the father, or tirsan, retireth, and after some time cometh forth again to dinner, where he sitteth alone under the state, as before; and none of his descendants sit with him, of what degree or dignity so ever, except he hap to be of Saloman's House. He is served only by his own children, such as are male; who perform unto him all service of the table upon the knee, and the women only stand about him, leaning against the wall. The room below his half-pace hath tables on the sides for the guests that are bidden; who are served with great and comely order; and toward the end of dinner (which in the greatest feasts with them lasteth never above an hour and a half) there is a hymn sung, varied according to the invention of him that composeth it (for they have excellent poesy), but the subject of it is always the praises of Adam, and Noah, and Abraham; whereof the former two peopled the world, and the last was the father of the faithful: concluding ever with a thanksgiving for the nativity of our Saviour, in whose birth the births of all are only blessed.

Dinner being done, the tirsan retireth again; and having withdrawn himself alone into a place, where he maketh some private prayers, he cometh forth the third time, to give the blessing; with all his descendants, who stand about him as at the first. Then he calleth them forth by one and by one, by name as he pleaseth, though seldom the order of age be inverted. The person that is called (the table being before removed) kneeleth down before the chair, and the father layeth his hand upon his head, or her head, and giveth the blessing in these words: "Son of Bensalem (or daughter of Bensalem), thy father saith it; the man by whom thou hast breath and life speaketh the word; the blessing of the everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace, and the Holy Dove be upon thee, and make the days of thy pilgrimage good and many." This he saith to every of them; and that done, if there be any of his sons of eminent merit and virtue, so they be not above two, he calleth for them again, and saith, laying his arm over their shoulders, they standing: "Sons, it is well you are born, give God the praise, and persevere to the end;" and withal delivereth to either of them a jewel, made in the figure of an ear of wheat, which they ever after wear in the front of their turban, or hat; this done, they fall to music and dances, and other recreations, after their manner, for the rest of the day. This is the full order of that feast.

By that time six or seven days were spent, I was fallen into straight acquaintance with a merchant of that city, whose name was Joabin. He was a Jew and circumcised; for they have some few stirps of Jews yet remaining among them, whom they leave to their own religion. Which they may the better do, because they are of a far differing disposition from the Jews in other parts. For whereas they hate the name of Christ, and have a secret inbred rancor against the people among whom they live; these, contrariwise, give unto our Saviour many high attributes, and love the nation of Bensalem extremely. Surely this man of whom I speak would ever acknowledge that Christ was born of a Virgin; and that he was more than a man; and he would tell how God made him ruler of the seraphim, which guard his throne; and they call him also the Milken Way, and the Eliah of the Messiah, and many other high names, which though they be inferior to his divine majesty, yet they are far from the language of other Jews. And for the country of Ben-salem, this man would make no end of commanding it, being desirous by tradition among the Jews there to have it believed that

the people thereof were of the generations of Abraham, by another son, whom they call Nachoran; and that Moses by a secret cabala ordained the laws of Bensalem which they now use; and that when the Messias should come, and sit in his throne at Hierusalem, the King of Bensalem should sit at his feet, whereas other kings should keep a great distance. But yet setting aside these Jewish dreams, the man was a wise man and learned, and of great policy, and excellently seen in the laws and customs of that nation.

Among other discourses one day I told him, I was much affected with the relation I had from some of the company of their custom in holding the feast of the family, for that, me- thought, I had never heard of a solemnity wherein nature did so much preside. And because propagation of families pro- ceedeth from the nuptial copulation, I desired to know of him what laws and customs they had concerning marriage, and whether they kept marriage well, and whether they were tied to one wife? For that where population is so much affected, and such as with them it seemed to be, there is commonly per- mission of plurality of wives. To this he said:

"You have reason for to commend that excellent institution of the feast of the family; and indeed we have experience, that those families that are partakers of the blessings of that feast, do flourish and prosper ever after, in an extraordinary manner. But hear me now, and I will tell you what I know. You shall understand that there is not under the heavens so chaste a nation as this of Bensalem, nor so free from all pollution or foulness. It is the virgin of the world; I remember, I have read in one of your European books, of a holy hermit among you, that desired to see the spirit of fornication, and there ap- peared to him a little foul ugly Ethiope; but if he had desired to see the spirit of chastity of Bensalem, it would have appeared to him in the likeness of a fair beautiful cherub. For there is nothing, among mortal men, more fair and admirable than the chaste minds of this people.

"Know, therefore, that with them there are no stews, no dis- solve houses, no courtesans, nor anything of that kind. Nay, they wonder, with detestation, at you in Europe, which permit such things. They say ye have put marriage out of office; for marriage is ordained a remedy for unlawful concupiscence; and natural concupiscence seemeth as a spur to marriage. But when men have at hand a remedy, more agreeable to their cor- rupt will, marriage is almost expulsed. And therefore there are with you seen infinite men that marry not, but choose rather a libertine and impure single life, than to be yoked in marriage; and many that do marry, marry late, when the prime and strength of their years are past. And when they do marry, what is marriage to them but a very bargain; wherein is sought alliance, or portion, or reputation, with some desire (almost in- different) of issue; and not the faithful nuptial union of man and wife, that was first instituted. Neither is it possible that those that have cast away so basely so much of their strength, should greatly esteem children (being of the same matter) as chaste men do. So likewise during marriage is the case much amended, as it ought to be if those things were tolerated only for necessity; no, but they remain still as a very affront to mar- riage.

"The haunting of those dissolute places, or resort to courte- sans, are no more punished in married men than in bachelors. And the depraved custom of change, and the delight in mere- tricious embracemnts (where sin is turned into art), maketh marriage a dull thing, and a kind of imposition or tax. They hear you defend these things, as done to avoid greater evils; as advoutries, deflowering of virgins, unnatural lust, and the like. But they say this is a preposterous wisdom; and they call it Lot's offer, who to save his guests from abusing, offered his daughters; nay, they say further, that there is little gained in this; for that the same vices and appetites do still remain and abound, unlawful lust being like a furnace, that if you stop the flames altogether it will quench, but if you give it any vent it will rage; as for masculine love, they have no touch of it; and yet there are not so faithful and inviolate friendships in the world again as are there, and to speak generally (as I said be- fore) I have not read of any such chastity in any people as theirs. And their usual saying is that whosoever is unchaste cannot reverence himself; and they say that the reverence of a man's self, is, next religion, the chiefest bridle of all vices."

And when he had said this the good Jew paused a little; whereupon I, far more willing to hear him speak on than to speak myself; yet thinking it decent that upon his pause of speech I should not be altogether silent, said only this; that I would say to him, as the widow of Sarepta said to Elias: "that he was come to bring to memory our sins; "and that I confess the righteousness of Bensalem was greater than the righteousness of Europe. At which speech he bowed his head, and went on this manner:

"They have also many wise and excellent laws, touching marriage. They allow no polygamy. They have ordained that none do intermarry, or contract, until a month be past from their first interview. Marriage without consent of parents they do not make void, but they mulct it in the inheritors; for the children of such marriages are not admitted to inherit above a third part of their parents' inheritance. I have read in a book of one of your men, of a feigned commonwealth, where the married couple are permitted, before they contract, to see one another naked. This they dislike; for they think it a scorn to give a refusal after so familiar knowledge; but because of many hidden defects in men and women's bodies, they have a more civil way; for they have near every town a couple of pools (which they call Adam and Eve's pools), where it is permitted to one of the friends of the man, and another of the friends of the woman, to see them severally bathe naked."

And as we were thus in conference, there came one that seemed to be a messenger, in a rich huke, that spake with the Jew; whereupon he turned to me, and said, "You will pardon me, for I am commanded away in haste." The next morning he came to me again, joyful as it seemed, and said: "There is word come to the governor of the city, that one of the fathers of Salomon's House will be here this day seven-night; we have seen none of them this dozen years. His coming is in state; but the cause of this coming is secret. I will provide you and your fellows of a good standing to see his entry." I thanked him, and told him I was most glad of the news.

The day being come he made his entry. He was a man of middle stature and age, comely of person, and had an aspect as if he pitied men. He was clothed in a robe of fine black cloth and wide sleeves, and a cape: his under-garment was of excellent white linen down to the foot, girt with a girdle of the same; and a sindon or tippet of the same about his neck. He had gloves that were curious, and set with stone; and shoes of peach-colored velvet. His neck was bare to the shoulders. His hat was like a helmet, or Spanish montero; and his locks curled below it decently; they were of color brown. His beard was cut round and of the same color with his hair, somewhat lighter. He was carried in a rich chariot, without wheels, literally-wise, with two horses at either end, richly trapped in blue velvet embroidered; and two footmen on each side in the like attire. The chariot was all of cedar, gilt and adorned with crystal; save that the fore end had panels of sapphires set in borders of gold, and the hinder end the like of emeralds of the Peru color. There was also a sun of gold, radiant upon the top, in the midst; and on the top before a small cherub of gold, with wings displayed. The chariot was covered with cloth-of-gold tissued upon blue. He had before him fifty attendants, young men all, in white satin loose coats up to the mid-leg, and stockings of white silk; and shoes of blue velvet; and hats of blue velvet, with fine plumes of divers colors, set round like hat-bands. Next before the chariot went two men, bare-headed, in linen garments down to the foot, girt, and shoes of blue velvet, who carried the one a crosier, the other a pastoral staff like a sheep-hook; neither of them of metal, but the crosier of balm-wood, the pastoral staff of cedar. Horsemen he had none, neither before nor behind his chariot; as it seemeth, to avoid all tumult and trouble. Behind his chariot went all the officers and principals of the companies of the city. He sat alone, upon cushions, of a kind of excellent plush, blue; and under his foot curious carpets of silk of divers colors, like the Persian, but far finer. He held up his bare hand, as he went, as blessing the people, but in silence. The street was wonderfully well kept; so that there was never any army had their men stand in better battle-array than the people stood. The windows likewise were not crowded, but everyone stood in them, as if they had been placed.

When the show was passed, the Jew said to me, "I shall not be able to attend you as I would, in regard of some charge the city hath laid upon me for the entertaining of this great person." Three days after the Jew came to me again, and said: "Ye are happy men; for the father of Salomon's House taketh knowledge of your being here, and commanded me to tell you that he will admit all your company to his presence, and have private conference with one of you, that ye shall choose; and for this hath appointed the next day after to-morrow. And because he meaneth to give you his blessing, he hath appointed it in the forenoon." We came at our day and hour, and I was chosen by my fellows for the private access. We found him in a fair chamber, richly hanged, and carpeted under foot, without any degrees to the state; he was set upon a low throne richly adorned, and a rich cloth of state over his head of blue satin embroidered. He was alone, save that he had two pages of honor, on either hand one, finely attired in white. His under-garments were the like that we saw him wear in the chariot; but instead of his gown, he had on him a mantle with a cape, of the same fine black, fastened about him. When we came in, as we were taught, we bowed low at our first entrance; and when we were come near his chair, he stood up, holding forth his hand ungloved, and in posture of blessing; and we every one of us stooped down and kissed the end of his tippet. That done, the rest departed, and I remained. Then he warned the pages forth of the room, and caused me to sit down beside him, and spake to me thus in the Spanish tongue:

"God bless thee, my son; I will give thee the greatest jewel I have. For I will impart unto thee, for the love of God and men, a relation of the true state of Salomon's House. Son, to make you know the true state of Salomon's House, I will keep this order. First, I will set forth unto you the end of our foundation. Secondly, the preparations and instruments we have for our works. Thirdly, the several employments and functions whereto our fellows are assigned. And fourthly, the ordinances and rites which we observe.

"The end of our foundation is the knowledge of causes, and secret motions of things; and the enlarging of the bounds of human empire, to the effecting of all things possible.

"The preparations and instruments are these: We have large and deep caves of several depths; the deepest are sunk 600 fathoms; and some of them are digged and made under great hills and mountains; so that if you reckon together the depth of the hill and the depth of the cave, they are, some of them, above three miles deep. For we find that the depth of a hill and the depth of a cave from the flat are the same thing; both remote alike from the sun and heaven's beams, and from the open air. These caves we call the lower region. And we use them for all coagulations, indurations, refrigerations, and conservations of bodies. We use them likewise for the imitation of natural mines and the producing also of new artificial metals, by compositions and materials which we use and lay there for many years. We use them also sometimes (which may seem strange) for curing of some diseases, and for prolongation of life, in some hermits that choose to live there, well accommodated of all things necessary, and indeed live very long; by whom also we learn many things.

"We have burials in several earths, where we put divers cements, as the Chinese do their porcelain. But we have them in greater variety, and some of them more fine. We also have great variety of composts and soils, for the making of the earth fruitful.

"We have high towers, the highest about half a mile in height, and some of them likewise set upon high mountains, so that the vantage of the hill with the tower is in the highest of them three miles at least. And these places we call the upper region, account the air between the high places and the low as a middle region. We use these towers, according to their several heights and situations, for insulation, refrigeration, conservation, and for the view of divers meteors -- as winds, rain, snow, hail, and some of the fiery meteors also. And upon them in some places are dwellings of hermits, whom we visit sometimes and instruct what to observe.

"We have great lakes, both salt and fresh, whereof we have use for the fish and fowl. We use them

also for burials of some natural bodies, for we find a difference in things buried in earth, or in air below the earth, and things buried in water. We have also pools, of which some do strain fresh water out of salt, and others by art do turn fresh water into salt. We have also some rocks in the midst of the sea, and some bays upon the shore for some works, wherein are required the air and vapor of the sea. We have likewise violent streams and cataracts, which serve us for many motions; and likewise engines for multiplying and enforcing of winds to set also on divers motions.

"We have also a number of artificial wells and fountains, made in imitation of the natural sources and baths, as tinted upon vitriol, sulphur, steel, brass, lead, nitre, and other minerals; and again, we have little wells for infusions of many things, where the waters take the virtue quicker and better than in vessels or basins. And among them we have a water, which we call water of paradise, being by that we do it made very sovereign for health and prolongation of life.

"We have also great and spacious houses, where we imitate and demonstrate meteors -- as snow, hail, rain, some artificial rains of bodies and not of water, thunders, lightnings; also generations of bodies in air -- as frogs, flies, and divers others.

"We have also certain chambers, which we call chambers of health, where we qualify the air as we think good and proper for the cure of divers diseases and preservation of health.

"We have also fair and large baths, of several mixtures, for the cure of diseases, and the restoring of man's body from affection; and others for the confirming of it in strength of sinews, vital parts, and the very juice and substance of the body.

"We have also large and various orchards and gardens, wherein we do not so much respect beauty as variety of ground and soil, proper for divers trees and herbs, and some very spacious, where trees and berries are set, whereof we make divers kinds of drinks, beside the vineyards. In these we practise likewise all conclusions of grafting, and inoculating, as well of wild-trees as fruit-trees, which produceth many effects. And we make by art, in the same orchards and gardens, trees and flowers, to come earlier or later than their seasons, and to come up and bear more speedily than by their natural course they do. We make them also by art greater much than their nature; and their fruit greater and sweeter, and of differing taste, smell, color, and figure, from their nature. And many of them we so order as that they become of medicinal use.

"We have also means to make divers plants rise by mixtures of earths without seeds, and likewise to make divers new plants, differing from the vulgar, and to make one tree or plant turn into another.

"We have also parks, and enclosures of all sorts, of beasts and birds; which we use not only for view or rareness, but likewise for dissections and trials, that thereby may take light what may be wrought upon the body of man. Wherein we find many strange effects: as continuing life in them, though divers parts, which you account vital, be perished and taken forth; resuscitating of some that seem dead in appearance, and the like. We try also all poisons, and other medicines upon them, as well of chirurgery as physic. By art likewise we make them greater or smaller than their kind is, and contrariwise dwarf them and stay their growth; we make them more fruitful and bearing than their kind is, and contrariwise barren and not generative. Also we make them differ in color, shape, activity, many ways. We find means to make commixtures and copulations of divers kinds, which have produced many new kinds, and them not barren, as the general opinion is. We make a number of kinds of serpents, worms, flies, fishes of putrefaction, whereof some are advanced (in effect) to be perfect creatures, like beasts or birds, and have sexes, and do propagate. Neither do we this by chance, but we know beforehand of what matter and commixture, what kind of those creatures will arise.

"We have also particular pools where we make trials upon fishes, as we have said before of beasts

and birds.

"We have also places for breed and generation of those kinds of worms and flies which are of special use; such as are with you your silkworms and bees.

"I will not hold you long with recounting of our brew-houses, bake-houses, and kitchens, where are made divers drinks, breads, and meats, rare and of special effects. Wines we have of grapes, and drinks of other juice, of fruits, of grains, and of roots, and of mixtures with honey, sugar, manna, and fruits dried and decocted; also of the tears or wounding of trees and of the pulp of canes. And these drinks are of several ages, some to the age or last of forty years. We have drinks also brewed with several herbs and roots and spices; yea, with several fleshes and white meats; whereof some of the drinks are such as they are in effect meat and drink both, so that divers, especially in age, do desire to live with them with little or no meat or bread. And above all we strive to have drinks of extreme thin parts, to insinuate into the body, and yet without all biting, sharpness, or fretting; insomuch as some of them put upon the back of your hand, will with a little stay pass through to the palm, and yet taste mild to the mouth. We have also waters, which we ripen in that fashion, as they become nourishing, so that they are indeed excellent drinks, and many will use no other. Bread we have of several grains, roots, and kernels; yea, and some of flesh, and fish, dried; with divers kinds of leavings and seasonings; so that some do extremely move appetites, some do nourish so as divers do live of them, without any other meat, who live very long. So for meats, we have some of them so beaten, and made tender, and mortified, yet without all corrupting, as a weak heat of the stomach will turn them into good chilus, as well as a strong heat would meat otherwise prepared. We have some meats also and bread, and drinks, which, taken by men, enable them to fast long after; and some other, that used make the very flesh of men's bodies sensibly more hard and tough, and their strength far greater than otherwise it would be.

"We have dispensaries or shops of medicines; wherein you may easily think, if we have such variety of plants, and living creatures, more than you have in Europe (for we know what you have), the simples, drugs, and ingredients of medicines, must likewise be in so much the greater variety. We have them likewise of divers ages, and long fermentations. And for their preparations, we have not only all manner of exquisite distillations, and separations, and especially by gentle heats, and percolations through divers strainers, yea, and substances; but also exact forms of composition, whereby they incorporate almost as they were natural simples.

"We have also divers mechanical arts, which you have not; and stuffs made by them, as papers, linen, silks, tissues, dainty works of feathers of wonderful lustre, excellent dyes, and many others, and shops likewise as well for such as are not brought into vulgar use among us, as for those that are. For you must know, that of the things before recited, many of them are grown into use throughout the kingdom, but yet, if they did flow from our invention, we have of them also for patterns and principals.

"We have also furnaces of great diversities, and that keep great diversity of heats; fierce and quick, strong and constant, soft and mild, blown, quiet, dry, moist, and the like. But above all we have heats, in imitation of the sun's and heavenly bodies' heats, that pass divers inequalities, and as it were orbs, progresses, and returns whereby we produce admirable effects. Besides, we have heats of dungs, and of bellies and maws of living creatures and of their bloods and bodies, and of hays and herbs laid up moist, of lime unquenched, and such like. Instruments also which generate heat only by motion. And farther, places for strong insulations; and, again, places under the earth, which by nature or art yield heat. These divers heats we use as the nature of the operation which we intend requireth.

"We have also perspective houses, where we make demonstrations of all lights and radiations and of all colors; and out of things uncolored and transparent we can represent unto you all several colors, not in rainbows, as it is in gems and prisms, but of themselves single. We

represent also all multiplications of light, which we carry to great distance, and make so sharp as to discern small points and lines. Also all colorations of light: all delusions and deceits of the sight, in figures, magnitudes, motions, colors; all demonstrations of shadows. We find also divers means, yet unknown to you, of producing of light, originally from divers bodies. We procure means of seeing objects afar off, as in the heaven and remote places; and represent things near as afar off, and things afar off as near; making feigned distances. We have also helps for the sight far above spectacles and glasses in use; we have also glasses and means to see small and minute bodies, perfectly and distinctly; as the shapes and colors of small flies and worms, grains, and flaws in gems which cannot otherwise be seen, observations in urine and blood not otherwise to be seen. We make artificial rainbows, halos, and circles about light. We represent also all manner of reflections, refractions, and multiplications of visual beams of objects.

"We have also precious stones, of all kinds, many of them of great beauty and to you unknown, crystals likewise, and glasses of divers kind; and among them some of metals vitrified, and other materials, besides those of which you make glass. Also a number of fossils and imperfect minerals, which you have not. Likewise loadstones of prodigious virtue, and other rare stones, both natural and artificial.

"We have also sound-houses, where we practise and demonstrate all sounds and their generation. We have harmony which you have not, of quarter-sounds and lesser slides of sounds. Divers instruments of music likewise to you unknown, some sweeter than any you have; with bells and rings that are dainty and sweet. We represent small sounds as great and deep, likewise great sounds extenuate and sharp; we make divers tremblings and warblings of sounds, which in their original are entire. We represent and imitate all articulate sounds and letters, and the voices and notes of beasts and birds. We have certain helps which, set to the ear, do further the hearing greatly; we have also divers strange and artificial echoes, reflecting the voice many times, and, as it were, tossing it; and some that give back the voice louder than it came, some shriller and some deeper; yea, some rendering the voice, differing in the letters or articulate sound from that they receive. We have all means to convey sounds in trunks and pipes, in strange lines and distances.

"We have also perfume-houses, wherewith we join also practices of taste. We multiply smells which may seem strange: we imitate smells, making all smells to breathe out of other mixtures than those that give them. We make divers imitations of taste likewise, so that they will deceive any man's taste. And in this house we contain also a confiture-house, where we make all sweatmeats, dry and moist, and divers pleasant wines, milks, broths, and salads, far in greater variety than you have.

"We have also engine-houses, where are prepared engines and instruments for all sorts of motions. There we imitate and practise to make swifter motions than any you have, either out of your muskets or any engine that you have; and to make them and multiply them more easily and with small force, by wheels and other means, and to make them stronger and more violent than yours are, exceeding your greatest cannons and basilisks. We represent also ordnance and instruments of war and engines of all kinds; and likewise new mixtures and compositions of gunpowder, wild-fires burning in water and unquenchable, also fire-works of all variety, both for pleasure and use. We imitate also flights of birds; we have some degrees of flying in the air. We have ships and boats for going under water and brooking of seas, also swimming-girdles and supporters. We have divers curious clocks and other like motions of return, and some perpetual motions. We imitate also motions of living creatures by images of men, beasts, birds, fishes, and serpents; we have also a great number of other various motions, strange for equality, fineness, and subtlety.

"We have also a mathematical-house, where are represented all instruments, as well of geometry as astronomy, exquisitely made.

"We have also houses of deceits of the senses, where we represent all manner of feats of juggling, false apparitions, im- postures and illusions, and their fallacies. And surely you will easily believe that we, that have so many things truly natural which induce admiration, could in a world of particulars de- ceive the senses if we would disguise those things, and labor to make them more miraculous. But we do hate all impostures and lies, insomuch as we have severely forbidden it to all our fellows, under pain of ignominy and fines, that they do not show any natural work or thing adorned or swelling, but only pure as it is, and without all affectation of strangeness.

"These are, my son, the riches of Salomon's House.

"For the several employments and offices of our fellows, we have twelve that sail into foreign countries under the names of other nations (for our own we conceal), who bring us the books and abstracts, and patterns of experiments of all other parts. These we call merchants of light.

"We have three that collect the experiments which are in all books. These we call depredators.

"We have three that collect the experiments of all mechani- cal arts, and also of liberal sciences, and also of practices which are not brought into arts. These we call mystery-men.

"We have three that try new experiments, such as themselves think good. These we call pioneers or miners.

"We have three that draw the experiments of the former four into titles and tables, to give the better light for the draw- ing of observations and axioms out of them. These we call compilers. We have three that bend themselves, looking into the experiments of their fellows, and cast about how to draw out of them things of use and practice for man's life and knowl- edge, as well for works as for plain demonstration of causes, means of natural divinations, and the easy and clear discovery of the virtues and parts of bodies. These we call dowry-men or benefactors.

"Then after divers meetings and consults of our whole num- ber, to consider of the former labors and collections, we have three that take care out of them to direct new experiments, of a higher light, more penetrating into nature than the former. These we call lamps.

"We have three others that do execute the experiments so directed, and report them. These we call inoculators.

"Lastly, we have three that raise the former discoveries by experiments into greater observations, axioms, and aphorisms. These we call interpreters of nature.

"We have also, as you must think, novices and apprentices, that the succession of the former employed men do not fail; be- sides a great number of servants and attendants, men and women. And this we do also: we have consultations, which of the inventions and experiences which we have discovered shall be published, and which not; and take all an oath of secrecy for the concealing of those which we think fit to keep secret; though some of those we do reveal sometime to the State, and some not.

"For our ordinances and rites we have two very long and fair galleries. In one of these we place patterns and samples of all manner of the more rare and excellent inventions; in the other we place the statues of all principal inventors. There we have the statue of your Columbus, that discovered the West Indies, also the inventor of ships, your monk that was the in- ventor of ordnance and of gunpowder, the inventor of music, the inventor of letters, the inventor of printing, the inventor of observations of astronomy, the inventor of works in metal, the inventor of glass, the inventor of silk of the worm, the inventor of wine, the inventor of corn and bread, the

inventor of sugars; and all these by more certain tradition than you have. Then we have divers inventors of our own, of excellent works; which, since you have not seen) it were too long to make descriptions of them; and besides, in the right understanding of those de- scriptions you might easily err. For upon every invention of value we erect a statue to the inventor, and give him a liberal and honorable reward. These statues are some of brass, some of marble and touchstone, some of cedar and other special woods gilt and adorned; some of iron, some of silver, some of gold.

"We have certain hymns and services, which we say daily, of laud and thanks to God for His marvellous works. And forms of prayers, imploring His aid and blessing for the illumina- nation of our labors; and turning them into good and holy uses.

"Lastly, we have circuits or visits, of divers principal cities of the kingdom; where as it cometh to pass we do publish such new profitable inventions as we think good. And we do also declare natural divinations of diseases, plagues, swarms of hurtful creatures, scarcity, tempest, earthquakes, great inunda- tions, comets, temperature of the year, and divers other things; and we give counsel thereupon, what the people shall do for the prevention and remedy of them."

And when he had said this he stood up, and I, as I had been taught, knelt down; and he laid his right hand upon my head, and said: "God bless thee, my son, and God bless this relation which I have made. I give thee leave to publish it, for the good of other nations; for we here are in God's bosom, a land un- known." And so he left me; having assigned a value of about 2,000 ducats for a bounty to me and my fellows. For they give great largesses, where they come, upon all occasions.

[THE REST WAS NOT PERFECTED.]

End.

# VTOPIENSIVM ALPHABETVM.

## Tetraстichon vernacula Vtopiensium lingua.

Vtopos ha Boccas petz la  
 ΕΠΙΛΓΕΙΟ ΘΕΟΦΟΘΕ ΓΕΕΙΣΑ  
 chama polta chamaan  
 ΦΩΔΩ · ΓΛΩΨΩ ΦΩΔΩΩ·  
 Bargol he maglomi baccan  
 ΘΩΡΩΣ ΣΘ ΔΩΡΩΣΛΔΩ ΘΩΦΩΩ  
 soma gymno sopheon  
 ΕΛΔΩ ΣΠΔΛΙΛ ΕΛΓCΩΛ·  
 Agrama gymnosophon labarembacha  
 ΟΩΦΩΔΩ·ΟΠΔΛΙΛΕΙΓCΛ· ΖΩΔΩΓΩΔΩΦΩCΩ  
 bodamilomin

Voluala barchin heman Ja

ΙΑΥΟΛΟΥΛΑ · ΘΟΥΦΟΥΛΑ · ΣΩΔΟΥ · ΖΟΥ  
Iauoluola dramme paglioni.

ଓଡ଼ିଆରେ କଥା ହେଉଛି ।

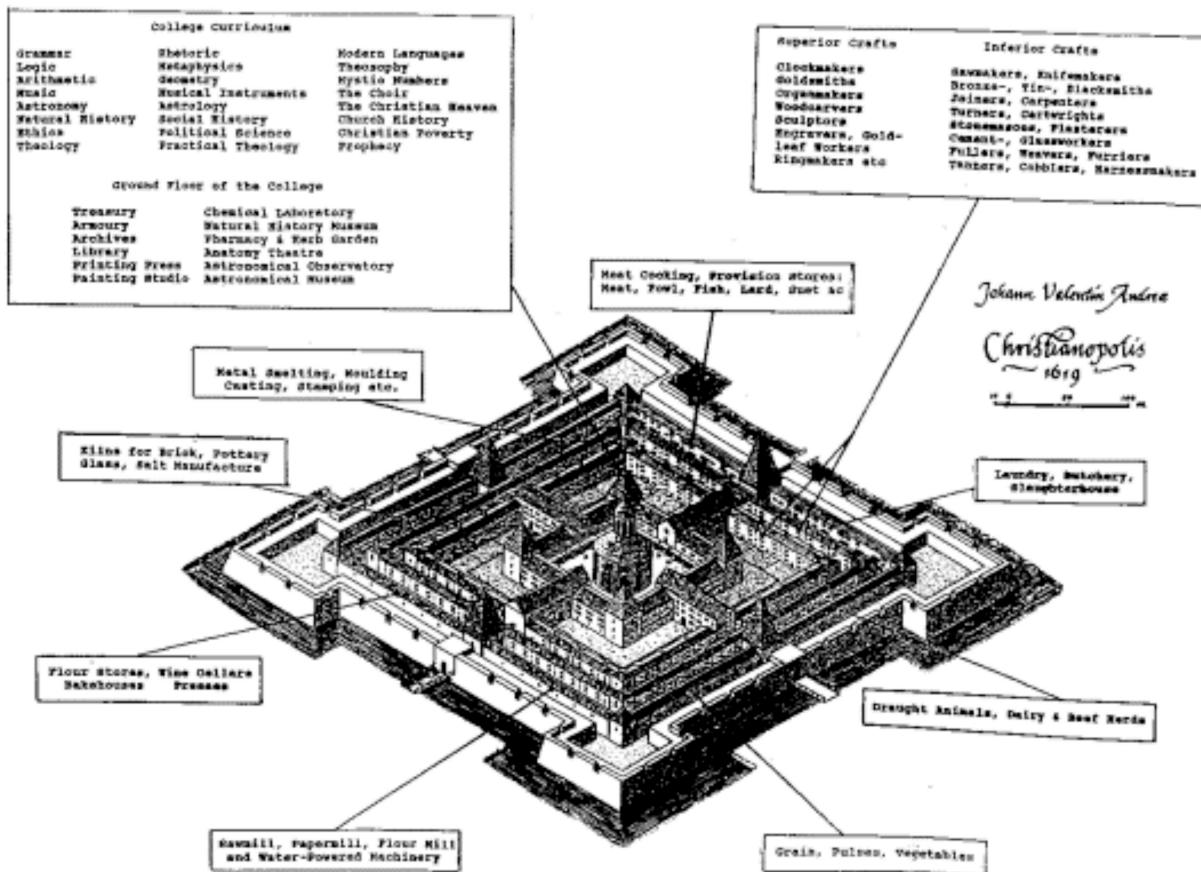
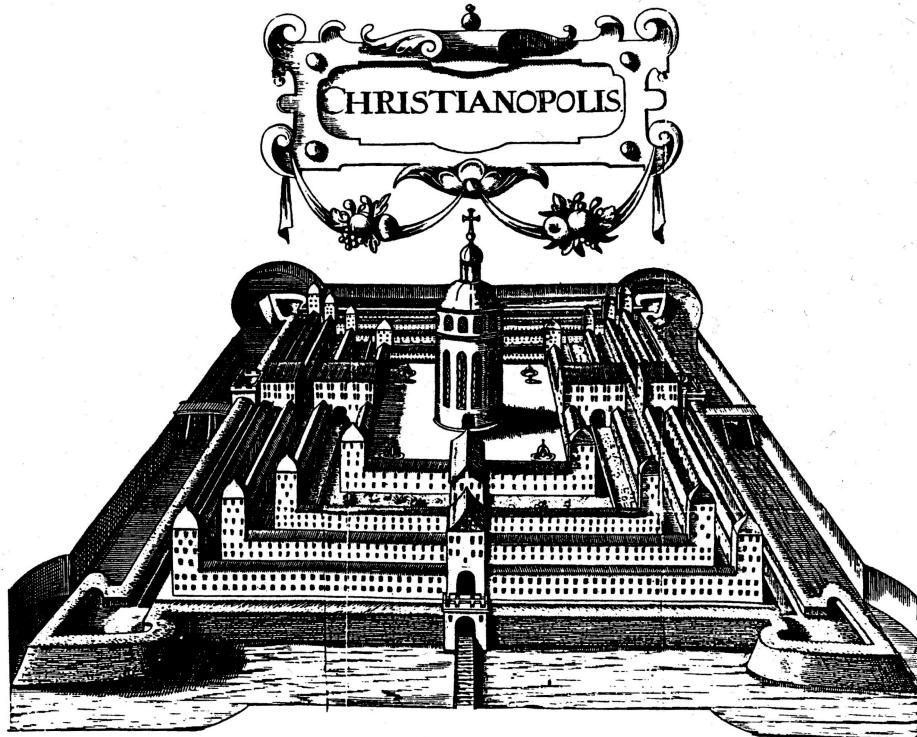
Horum versuum ad verbum hæc est sententia.

Vtopus medux ex non insula fecit insulam

## Vna ego terrarum omnium absq; philosophia

# Ciuitatem philosophicam expressi mortalibus

**Libēter impartiō mea, nō grauatim accipiō meliora,**



JOHANN VALENTIN ANDREAE  
CHRISTIANOPOLIS  
AN IDEAL STATE OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Thou Most Noble and Worthy Man, John Arndt, Reverend Father in Christ.

This our new state recognizes and respects thee; for inasmuch as this colony has its source in that Jerusalem which thou didst build with mighty spirit, against the wishes of the sophists, it is impossible not to refer all things to thee, to give thee thanks for the institutions and laws, to beseech thee at the same time not to think it beneath thee to communicate out of thy kindness what in thine opinion should be added or changed. So may God grant to thy most honored old age that thou mayest see as many as possible heeding thine interpretation of loyalty, uprightness, and scholarship. Farewell, reverend father in Christ, and continue thou to command me to God as I give heed to thee.

Jan. i, 1619. R.D.T.  
Most faithfully,  
Joh. Valentin Andreae.

HAIL, CHRISTIAN READER.

I see two classes of men in the commonwealth. A class of those who do not so much approve of those things over which they are set or under which they are placed, as they admire them and defend them to the teeth. The other class, men who endure human affairs, but in such a way, it is true, that they do not hesitate to wish for better things and to obey moderate changes. But as the latter class never readily causes disturbance, because of backwardness and sense, but rather as far as possible gives way, is silent and tolerant; so also the former, because of blind madness and lack of self-control, attack, torment, and not rarely drag those into the conflict who merely grumble at them though they may not at all desire it. Of this, Antichrist gave us the clearest example when he oppressed the church of Christ with wicked burdens. And it is surprising that there were people who, though perhaps they may not have approved of such baseness, at least tolerated it. Be that as it may, it was admitted and done so disgustingly that when some sought a correction of such terrible disgraces in the most temperate way, they were given over to punishment, proscribed from the protection of law, and torn by God knows what curses; until, as men's minds became enraged with the indignity of the thing, an impulse was given to restore light and dispel the darkness. What now may be the cause of this, since it opposes all reason, is not very clear. For whether it be a spirit of ambition, which will suffer correction from no one, or whether it be greed, which does so flourish among men; whether it be a mental dullness which makes no choice or distinction between good and evil, or whether people foolishly become accustomed to things in a way that lessens all ugliness all this does not at all compare with the great boldness with which we ourselves oppose the most evident truth and the most hoped for good. And so many believe, and not without reason, that this cloud was sent by God upon the minds of the wicked, lest they should conform to the modesty of the good, which can be done with moderate and tolerable means; that, once convicted of their impudent wickedness and regarded as unworthy of being yielded to farther, they may be compelled to do greater things, and thus, when the mask is removed, lose their influence among the people.

It was thus that our hero Doctor Luther proceeded; when men would not heed his prayers and tears, he began to breathe threats out of the Word of God. Accomplishing nothing by submissiveness, he began to rise up. 'When he had carried on siege for a long time, he began to storm the opposing power, and with such success, that WE REJOICE though they gnash their teeth. I am rather inclined to think that this very drama may be played again in our own day. The light of a purer religion has dawned upon us; in accordance with it, the administration of public affairs has been regulated, and the brilliancy of letters and arts has been restored; we may be able

entirely to triumph over many conquered enemies superstition, dissoluteness, and rudeness.

But the secret snares of the Devil give us trouble, as a result of which our rejoicing is made less firm, and a mere name without the substance is left us. For though all our doings should be patterned after our Christ, whose name we bear and confess, yet it happens on account of our weak indulgence that Christians differ in no respect from men of

the world. For whether we look at the churches, the courts, or the universities nowhere is there a lack of unscrupulous ambition, greed, gluttony, license, jealousy, idleness, and other mastering vices at which Christ violently shuddered, but in which we chiefly delight. From this may very easily be imagined the joy of the Devil, who when he has secretly stolen from us the kernel, gladly allows us to glory in the shells and rinds, and it is easy to notice our simpleness in that we are content with the bare shadow of anything, though we listen like religious, polished, and educated men. And yet that impostor does not deceive all, and least of all those who have a higher light within.

Very many of these, men of most fervent spirit, have lifted their voices loudly even before us, and will continue to do so very zealously in the future also. From their number I will mention only Doctor John Gerhard, Doctor John Arndt, and Doctor Mart. Moller, as especially deserving it of me, most upright theological scholars, although the last named is a little disturbed on the subject of the Lord's Supper. When these men noticed that the whole world was resounding with disputation, so that the spirit of Christ could hardly be heard through them, they desired greatly to procure intermittent silence, which should be devoted to piety and should permit a breathing space after the heat of disputing, and thus unite scholarship with uprightness in such a way that each might add splendor to the other. This was asked for very modestly, and allowed with the greatest ill will. Since the bishops of the churches would acknowledge the presence of no simony, the political leaders no dishonesty, the university no lack of education, being warned against devotedness, uprightness, and letters, they were accused of treason. If we put faith in those who answer the argument, it will appear that the whole church is full of windows, into which anyone may fly whenever it pleases him, and where he may whisper to his liking; the republic, a market place where vices may be bought and sold; the academy, a labyrinth in which it is a game and an art to wander about; and whatever is squandered upon these is pure gain. Defenders arose who were willing to be betrayed; good people would have taken oath upon their innocence, while now the evil ones detest the public testimony of their evil deeds. For the erring world would much prefer to have its acts concealed than to have them praised in public.

Those who perform sacrifice in the church have grown incensed because the security or rather the nothingness of their calling, the carelessness of their sermons, their culture, smacking all too much of the world, are not approved. And yet the churchmen forbid all this. The greedy ones of the world roared because the harshness of their law, the license of their morals, the accumulation of their riches, their contempt of eternity were not praised. And yet even their own civil authority prohibits these. Teachers of letters babbled on behalf of their lack of knowledge of the arts, lack of languages, cheapness of their academic degrees, the insatiable depth of their expenses, and even against the direct wishes of scholarship; and so, as ignorance was willing or rather required it, hypocrisy has undertaken and violently usurped the protection of religion, tyranny that of civil authority, quibbling that of letters, it is true, with many and diverse judgments; but the champions of God, or the servants of a good cause, remained unafraid. For though particularly of some they might have hoped for and expected greater fairness, learning, and especially greater moderation, who were thought to be well versed in the affairs of the state, and of great merit; yet anyone who has once examined the world more closely, has clearly noticed that nothing is more intolerable to impostors, than truth and uprightness; and they hate these so thoroughly that, in the impotency of their wrath and forgetful of themselves, they throw off their masks, covers, and wrappings, rush forth bare, and thus give way the secret of their wickedness. No sensible man can see without repulsion how basely gluttony in the midst of the church, moral

looseness in the very public square and in the schools, empty titles without stability, and prodigality without limit are overlooked nay, even commended and brought before the public. This is just the reason why these persons, from whom one would least expect it, give way and yield to truth more readily, since when once convicted of their own mistakes they find nothing left except infamous impudence and low banter; and with these they try in vain to exonerate themselves. And so with their innate politeness they hear and bear reproofs; they confess their faults or their mental darkness, the inventions of the Devil, the force of habits, credulity, and other shackles of the same sort; and wish that they were faultless again.

A certain fraternity, in my opinion a joke, but according to theologians a serious matter, has brought forth evident proof of this very thing. As soon as it promised, instead of the taste of the curious public, the greatest and most unusual things, even those things which men generally want, it added also the exceptional hope of the correction of the present corrupted state of affairs, and even further, the imitation of the acts of Christ. What a confusion among men followed the report of this thing, what a conflict among the learned, what an unrest and commotion of impostors and swindlers, it is entirely needless to say. There is just this one thing which we would like to add, that there were some who in this blind terror wished to have their old, out-of-date, and falsified affairs entirely retained and defended with force. Some hastened to surrender the strength of their opinions; and, after they had made accusation against the severest yoke of their servitude, hastened to reach out after freedom. And then, to get closer to the matter in hand, there were some who made accusation against the principles of Christian life as heresy and fanaticism. Others even embraced this with a whole heart. While these people quarreled among themselves, and crowded the shops, they gave many others leisure to look into and judge these questions. Of this now we have this benefit, that, as it seems to us, the world is not so sure of its affairs as it would like to seem, nor is it so steadfast in its views that it cannot be turned aside; nor yet (and this is the chief point) are all so far from Christ that no one would be willing to admit His rules of life and then regulate his own life according to them, if the opportunity were given. Moreover I am prone to praise the judgment of a man of the most noble qualities in piety, ethics, and nature who, when he saw that men were undecided and for the most part deceived by the report of that brotherhood, answered, " If these reforms seem proper, why do we not try them ourselves? Let us not wait for them to do it.", meaning that there was nothing to hinder us from learning these things from the Gospels and making the attempt from the praiseworthy examples of devoted Christians, if we really wished to imitate the life of Christ and improve our daily lives. For we certainly would not commit such an injury against Christ and His Word, as to prefer to learn the way of salvation and emulate it, from some society (if there really is such a one) hazy, omniscient only in the eyes of its own boastfulness, with a sewn shield for an emblem and marred with many foolish ceremonies, than from Him who is Himself the Way, the Truth, and the Life, whose precepts are so in evidence and so easily located that we have to make use of the greatest subterfuges and evasions to avoid them. For if our conscience urges us that we have ground for complaint against the too great security of religion, the impurity of life, and the mockeries of learning, what shall hinder us from driving out of ourselves at least (if others do not desire it) the vices of life, from planting virtues instead, and from joining closer to our Christ whom we fear is farthest removed from our affairs?

It is quite certain that nothing gives this permission to us or to Christ except the fear of the judgments of men, which attempts to preserve us from our own friends and the usual customs of life, and to keep for us the good will of men; yet which none the less a little later hurls us through the difficulties of this age, to groan and grieve when it is too late, naturally, because we have given faith to the world and denied it to Christ. And this is to be considered the best determination, which, when the Word of God has been heard 'nd accepted, does not look to men or to any society or assembly for approval, but stands at the command of God [ and of the human conscience, walks zealously under the direction of the Holy Spirit, and bears unjust criticism no i.nore unwillingly than the croaking of frogs; since altoget her it is evident that only a very few people dare to attack piety, uprightness, and character in the open, but by circumlocutions rather

trifle, lie, or try to devise something a'c which after a while they can bark. And so you will hear first of all the words "fanatic/" "turbulent," and "a danger to literature"; then you will be accused and will have to look at the wounds of a chimera and the conflicts of blind gladiators. But if you quietly put your faith in a clear conscience, you will yet take the greatest joy with you. Now, my excellent reader, you see as an evident example of this Christian security, this new Republic which it seems best to call Christianopolis. For inasmuch as other people (and I myself also) do not like to be corrected, I have built this city for myself where I may exercise the dictatorship. And if you should call my own insignificant body by this name, perhaps you would not be so far from the truth. But even as the laws almost everywhere are good and yet the morals of the people loose, so I fear you will suspect that the case is the same with the citizens of my state. However that may be, I have determined not to praise my citizens, but to describe them; and to reveal and communicate to you according to what statutes we are commanded to live. I could not speak to you' about different things more frankly or freely, I could not giy^ you the facts with less restriction, nor draw forth your opinion more unreservedly than in this manner. Whether you approve or disapprove of this matter I shall praise you, provided you give answer with like candor. But if you answer me with some sophism, nothing will be easier for me than to bear your unfavorable criticisms and ignore you. If you find our state at all attractive, nothing shall be denied?you; if you decline it, nothing shall be thrust upon you. My citizens do neither waste their own substance nor do they covet yours. Furthermore they are willing to accept whatever you care to give them, and they are glad to give you whatever you desire. Our laws compel or constrain no one; they do persuade standing forth with the Word of God and nc?>t giving way to Satan. Moreover, they admit every good man as an adviser. The structure has no art, but abundant simplicity.

We have not told everything. Perhaps we have said more than the wicked can stand less than we offer to the good, however often they may wish it mentioned.

Finally let me say, it is a public show, a thing which has not been said to the disadvantage of the famous Thomas More. As far as concerns my own work, it ought to be more easily laid aside as not being as serious or as clever as his. I have written to my friends, since one can joke with them; I should not dare to write to eminent men, even if I wished\* to do so; I should not be able to if I dared; and I should not want to if they permitted it. So great is my respect for them, such the knowledge and confession of my inexperience. At any rate, those may read who wish to, and let them remember that among friends many imperfections are overlooked which would not stand the critical test of evil wishers. If anyone doubts the truth of my story, let him put off passing judgment until all reports of wanderings and sea travels have been made. But the safest way will be (provided Heaven permits, the land does not interfere, and the sea is calm, with Christ the guide of your voyage, and your comrades all desirous of a just life), for you to embark upon your vessel which has the sign of the Cancer for its distinctive mark, sail for Christianopolis yourself with favorable conditions, and there investigate everything very accurately in the fear of God. So farewell, my Christian reader, and gird you on the road to heaven.

#### CONCERNING THE STATE OF CHRISTIANOPOLIS.

##### I.

##### THE REASON FOR THE JOURNEY, AND THE SHIPWRECK.

While wandering as a stranger on the earth, suffering much in patience from tyranny, sophistry, and hypocrisy, seeking a man, and not finding what I so anxiously sought, I decided to launch out once more upon the Academic Sea though the latter had very often been hurtful to me. And so ascending the good ship, Phantasy, I left the port together with many others and exposed my life and person to the thousand dangers that go with desire for knowledge. For a short space of time conditions favored our voyage; then adverse storms of envy and calumny stirred up the Ethiopian Sea x against us and removed all hope of calm weather. The efforts of the skipper and the oarsmen

were exerted to the limit, our own stubborn love of life would not give up, and even the vessel resisted the rocks; but the force of the sea always proved stronger. Finally when all hope was lost and we, rather of necessity than on account of bravery of soul, had prepared to die, the ship collapsed and we sank. Some were swallowed up by the sea, some were scattered to great distances, while some who could swim or who found planks to float upon, were carried to different islands scattered throughout this sea.

Very few escaped death, and I alone, without a single comrade, was at length driven to a very minute islet, a mere piece of turf, as it seemed.

## II.

### DRIVEN TO THE ISLAND, CAPHAR SALAMA.

Everything here pleased me, except I did not please myself. The island, moreover, small though it had appeared, had a great abundance of all things, and there was not a foot of soil to be seen which was not under cultivation or in some way put to use for mankind. The site of the island, such as I found it to be a little later, I will not refuse to explain. It is in the Antarctic zone, io of the south pole, 20 of the equinoctial circle, and about 12 under the point of the bull. 1 To trifling minutiae I will never answer. The form is that of a triangle, whose perimeter is about 30 miles. This island is rich in grain and pasture fields, watered with rivers and brooks, adorned with woods and vineyards, full of animals, just as if it were a whole world in miniature. One might think that here the heavens and the earth had been married and were living together in everlasting peace.

While I was drying my undershirt, the only garment I had saved, in the rays of the morning sun, an inhabitant of the island, some one of the many watchmen of the place, came upon me suddenly. He inquired into my mischance with all kindness, and while sympathizing with my misfortune, bade me trust him and accompany him to the city, where, with their usual consideration toward strangers and exiles, the citizens would supply my needs; and he added: " Happy are you whose lot it has been, after so severe a shipwreck, to be thrown on land at this place." And I answered only, " Thank God! Glory to God!"

## III.

### THE ORIGIN OF CHRISTIANOPOLIS.

Meantime the sight and the beauty of the city as we approached it surprised me greatly, for all the rest of the world does not hold anything like it or to be compared with it. So turning to my guide I said: " What happiness has established her abode here? " And he answered: " The one that in this world is generally very unhappy. For when the world raged against the good and drove them out of her boundaries, religion, an exile, gathering about her the com\_ rades whom she regarded the most faithful, after crossing the sea and examining various places, finally chose this land in which to establish her followers. Later she built a city which we call Christianopolis, and desired that it should be the home, or, if you prefer, the stronghold of honesty and excellence. The generosity of this our republic to all in want, you are about to experience. So if you desire to traverse the city (but you must do it with dispassionate eyes, guarded tongue, and decent behavior) the opportunity will not be denied you; nay, the city lies open to you in its individual parts." Then I answered: " Oh, blessed hour when after so many monstrous sights seen with dread and exertion, I shall be granted the privilege of observing something really elegant and beautiful. I shall evade neither the bath, the razor, nor the brush, that, being washed, scraped, and cleansed, I may be admitted to the pure abodes of truth and goodness. For how unfortunate my mistakes and evasions have been, has become known to many, a long time ago. Qhi\_jnaj\_\_I\_some time see better, truer, more fixed, jind more \_stable conditions in brief, those which the world promises, but never and nowhere produces!"

## IV.

## EXAMINATION OF THE STRANGER, FIRST, AS TO HIS IDEAS OF LIFE AND HIS MORALS.

Now we had approached the eastern gate, when my companion introduced me to the prefect of the day's guard. He received me pleasantly and asked me what I desired. " Very many things," said I, " for as you see I have been cast up from land and sea. But now since I seem to have met God Himself here, why should I not seek largely of that which I have lacked all my life? " The prefect of the guard smiled and kindly advised me, inasmuch as this island had nothing indecorous, not to prove to be one of those whom the citizens of the community would not tolerate among them but would send back to the place from which they had come, such persons as: beggars, quacks, stageplayers who have too much leisure, busybodies who worry i-\*\* unnecessarily in the details of unusual affairs, fanatics who T^\* however have no real feeling of piety, drug-mixers who J ruin the science of chemistry, impostors who falsely call ^ /g themselves the Brothers of the Rosicrucians, and other like blemishes of literature and true culture, whom this city has never ceased to suspect. Then when I had purged myself by a testimony of my inmost conscience, and had with many words vowed the service of my whole powers to truth and to integrity, he said: " There is no reason now why you should not have the benefit of our goods, and what is much more important, of ourselves." So saying, he grasped me by the hand, took me into the home of some watchmen or guards near by, and refreshed me with very savory food and drink.

## V.

### EXAMINATION, SECONDLY, AS TO HIS PERSON.

Now when I had put on different clothing, not at all extravagant, but easily procured and comfortable, he gave me over to some attendants who took me to my second examiner. This man appeared as one born for the purpose of drawing forth from a man his innermost and most private thoughts. He returned my greetings very kindly and put several friendly questions to me, meanwhile watching my bearing and the lineaments of my face very critically. With a smile rather than with serious expression he inquired as to my native land, my age, my manner of life, all, as it were, incidentally. After a few courtesies had been exchanged, he said: " My friend, you have undoubtedly come here under the leadership of God that you might learn whether it is always necessary to do evil and to live according to the custom of barbarians. That this is not the case we will give you proof this very day as we ought to all persons. And all the more gladly will we do this since neither nature nor your fortune seem indisposed, but rather you possess a heart favorable to the influences of both. And if God indeed rule you, so t hat yo\_ u\_be\_iree-rQrn th e at tractions of the fleshy then we do not doubt that you are already ours, and that you will be forever." While thus speaking (as I seemed to notice) he was studying the calmness of my being, the modesty of my countenance, the closeness of my speech, the quiet of my eyes, my personal bearing, with such thoroughness that it seemed to me he could scrutinize my very thoughts, with such affability that I could conceal nothing from him, with such respect that I felt I owed everything to him. And so, when my mind had been laid bare all around and he had at length touched somewhat on the subject of letters, he said: " My friend, you will grant me your indulgence when I discourse in so unscholarly a way as I have done. Be not discouraged, for in this community of ours you will find no lack of men who are fairly steeped in learning and culture." At the same time he issued a command to an attendant that he should accompany me to a third examiner. And so he shook my hand and bade me farewell, urging me to have confidence. But I thought to myself: "Heaven help me! If they call this ' discoursing in an unscholarly way,' what shall become of me?"

## VI.

### EXAMINATION, THIRDLY, AS TO HIS PERSONAL CULTURE.

Now when I came to him, I found no less kindness than in the former case; for let me say once for all, all haughtiness and pride are banished from this place. But when I heard this man speak, I felt more ashamed than ever before. I had to M know nothing " with Socrates, but in an entirely

different sense. How I regretted having spoken of literature! He asked me, in most pleasant terms it is true, to what extent I had learned to control myself and to be of service to my brother; to fight off the world, to be in harmony with death, to follow the Spirit; what progress I had made in the observation of the heavens and the earth, in the close examination of nature, in instruments of the arts, in the history and origin of languages, the harmony of all the world; what relation I bore toward the society of the church, toward a compendium of the Scriptures, the kingdom of heaven, the school of the Spirit, the brotherhood of Christ, the household of God. I was amazed when I understood that so very little had been made a part of myself, of the many things which are so freely and in such generous amounts given to man. And so, doing all that1 could under the circumstances, I turned to frank confessional and said: " Most honored sir, all these things I am entirely unacquainted with and I have never had instruction in them. But of this much I assure you on my word, that within me I have very often wrestled with them, desired to know them, and have dared to attack them." Whereupon he almost shouted out aloud. " You are ours," he said, " you who bring to us an unsullied slate, washed clean, as it were, by the sea itself. It but remains that we pray God that He inscribe upon your heart with His holy stylus the \ things which will seem, in His wisdom and goodness, salutary to you. And now truly you shall see our city in its individual parts. And after you have returned we will listen to whatever you may further desire of us, in so far as we are mentally prepared and provided." And he gave me three men, Beeram, Eram, and Neariam, worthy individuals as was evident from their countenances; and they were to show me around everywhere.

## VII.

### DESCRIPTION OF THE CITY.

If I describe to you the appearance of the city first of all, I will not be making a mistake. Its shape is a square, whose side is seven hundred feet, well fortified with four towers and a wall. It looks, therefore, toward the four quarters of the earth. Eight other very strong towers, distributed throughout the city, intensify the strength; and there are sixteen other smaller ones that are not to be despised; and the citadel in the midst of the city is wellnigh impregnable. Of buildings there are two rows, or if you count the seat of government and the storehouses, four; there is only one public street, and only one marketplace, but this one is of a very high order. If you measure the buildings, you will find that from the innermost street, being twenty feet in width, the numbers increase by fives even up to one hundred. At this point there is a circular temple, a hundred feet in diameter. As you go forth from the buildings, the intervals, storehouses, and the rows of houses are each twenty feet wide and the wall is twentyfive feet. All buildings are in three stories, and public balconies lead to these. All this can, however, be better understood from the accompanying plate. 1 All buildings are made of burnt stone and are separated by fireproof walls so that a fire could not do very severe damage. Spring water and flowing water are here in great abundance, supplied partly by artificial means, and partly by nature. Things look much the same all around, not extravagant nor yet unclean; fresh air and ventilation are provided throughout. About four hundred citizens live here in religious faith and peace of the highest order. We shall have something to say about each individual one. Outside the walls is a moat stocked with fish, that even in times of peace it may have its uses. The open and otherwise unused spaces contain wild animals, kept, however, not for purposes of entertainment but for practical use. The whole city is divided into three parts, one to supply food, one for drill and exercise, and one for looks. The remainder of the island serves purposes of agriculture and for workshops. These I have noted down in some way or another in the plan. And next we must take a trip through the city.

## VIII.

### AGRICULTURE AND ANIMAL HUSBANDRY.

In the farthermost section of the corporation which faces east is the farm quarter. It is divided into two parts, the agriculture proper on the one side, and the animal husbandry department on

the other. For all the grain, vegetables, and greens which the state can get from the island, and all the pack-animals, beef-cattle, and flocks of which they have need, are kept in fourteen buildings, so constructed that they will shelter the guards and care-takers also. For, since the buildings rise in three stories, as I have shown, they hold more than one would suppose. Whatever waste materials accumulate, are taken through the gateways in the corner towers and carried to the edge of the walls, until the time arrives for distributing them over the fields arid meadows. Directly opposite these buildings is a rather large tower, thirty by forty-five feet, which connects the farm buildings with the city buildings; it also incloses a space of land, so that under the tower a rather broad vaulted entrance into the city is open, and smaller doors lead to the individual houses. This tower can be so fortified on both sides at the gates that there can be no passing back and forth through the walls to the town when once the gates are closed. A hall with windows all around, is built under the dome of this tower. Here the citizens of that side of the town may come together, as often as the ordinances require, and act on sacred as well as on civil matters. Uriel, a man very expert in agriculture, soil fertility, and breeding and care of animals, lives above in this tower. Kapzeel and Simea, subordinate to Uriel, are the prefects of the towers, and they assist him in his work whenever it is possible. Here there is no rusticity, but the agriculture of the patriarchs is reproduced, the results being the more satisfactory, the closer the work is to God and the more attentive to natural simplicity

#### IX.

##### MILLS AND BAKERIES.

Seven mills and as many bake shops adjoin these two public storehouses which face south; while seven meat shops and as many provision chambers are on the side that faces north. Larger towers divide the two sides as in the former case; and likewise, towers very much like those smaller ones, inclose them. The mills do not only grind the grain and have it stored on the upper floors, but whatever is to be done with machinery apart from fire, is done here; and as this is a place for originality to work its way, there is a great variety of such for devising pleasure and wonder on the part of the spectator. Here paper is made, trees are sawed into beams, and arms and tools are polished. All the bread which is necessary to supply the island is baked in these bake shops, and all flour is kept here. Between these are tanks for oil, and underneath, cellars are dug out for receiving wine. And the men in charge of the storing and packing away, are expert tasters. Neria, who lives in the middle tower, has charge of these, and Simea and Gadiel, prefects of the small towers, assist. The arrangement is that each prefect is responsible to two of the four men. You will be surprised how a supply of provisions, not at all very great, can be made to suffice for temperate habits in everything. For though no one in the whole island ever goes hungry, yet by the grace of God or the generosity of nature, there is always abundance, since gluttony and drunkenness are entirely unknown. Of the distribution of food I will speak later; let me add just one thing now, that everything is done neatly and with proper appreciation of the gifts of God. Men that have to do the heavy work do not become wild and rough, but remain kindly; the guards are not gluttons, but are temperate, not evil-smelling but cleanly washed. And to conclude, the government is administered in a way so advantageous in all respects, that the people can enjoy all these privileges with a pleasure that is decent and need not be concealed.

#### X.

##### the meat shop and the supply house.

A district on the north is devoted to the slaughter houses and to fourteen other buildings which have to do with the same. This part has no suggestion of the bestial about it. And yet in other places I have seen men become coarse from the daily custom of shedding blood, or the handling of meats, fat, hides, and the like. Here also there are kitchens intended for the roasting, boiling, and cleansing of animals; but which know no delicacies or dainties. And inasmuch as they praise neatness and sanitation, there are wash houses for washing the clothes and linen.

The provision chamber is divided into several rooms; it has butter, lard, suet, grease, tallow, and other supplies of this kind; but also fish, dried and fresh, and all kinds of fowl, not only for the inhabitants but also for strangers and traveling merchants. For there is the greatest opportunity for commerce in this island, though the inhabitants of the place, individually, have nothing to do with it. Such matters are left to those selected to attend to them. And here the real value of exchange appears, which looks not so much at the gain, as at the variety of things; so that we may see the peculiar production of each land, and so communicate with each other that we may seem to have the advantages of the universe in one place, as it were. From this, the recognition of this little point, our earth, and also the generosity of God, the Giver of all, becomes manifest; and finally, that which is the gift of all men, is rendered that of every individual. I will not say more along this line now, for in the first place there is need of too much else, and then the subject will recur often in the rehearsal of other parts. Thirhena and his comrades, Kapzeel and Zarphat, have charge of this part, of the work, and they regulate the daily life and the work of the subordinates.

## XI.

### METALS AND MINERALS.

There remains the section on the west which is given over to the forge. For here on the one side are seven workshops fitted out for heating, hammering, melting, and molding metals; while on the other side are seven others assigned to the buildings of those workmen who make salt, glass, brick, earthenware, and to all industries which require constant fire. Here in truth you see a testing of nature herself; everything that the earth contains in her bowels is subjected to the laws and instruments of science. The men are not driven to a work with which they are unfamiliar, like pack-animals to their task, but they have been trained long before in an accurate knowledge of scientific matters, and find their delight in the inner parts of nature. If a person does not here listen to the reason and look into the most minute elements of the macrocosm, they think that nothing has been proved. Unless you analyze matter by experiment, unless you improve the deficiencies of knowledge by more capable instruments, you are worthless. Take my word for it, if sophistry should undertake to prattle here, it would be a mockery to such an extent do they prefer deeds to words. Here one may welcome and listen to true and genuine chemistry, free and active; whereas in other places falsechemistry steals upon and imposes on one behind one's back. For true chemistry is accustomed to examine the work, to assist with all sorts of tests, and to make use of experiments. Or, to be brief, here is practical science. Sesbazar with his two assistants, Zarphat and Gadiel, have charge and seem to require not so much the labor itself as a fit exercise for the human body. For while among us one is worn out by the fatigue of an effort, with them the powers are reinforced by a perfect balance of work and leisure so that they never approach a piece of work without alacrity. Moreover, as I looked on the work, this self-reproach kept coming into my mind, that, urged by so long a time, employed at so much expense, assisted by books, I had learned nothing of all these things, which it is altogether fitting one should know, and that by my inexcusable folly I had neglected the countenance of nature, which is after all the most attractive.

## XII.

### dwellings.

When then I had examined the inclosure containing the shops and the storehouses, I entered through the east tower and saw the city proper, square and with two rows of buildings facing each other. The street which separates these rows of houses is twenty feet wide, and is of sufficient width, when you stop to consider that horses and wagons are not used upon it. The buildings on the outer side are fifteen, those on the inner side twenty-five feet wide; they are thirty-three feet high and most of them forty feet long on the side facing the street. The walks are arched and supported by columns five feet wide and twelve high, that rainyweather may do no damage. Where the walls face each other, a walk is formed by the balconies on the second and third stories, all of which it has been deemed wise to represent in the diagrams. The larger side of the city, if you

stop to count the towers, has thirteen buildings, the smaller side, eleven, making eighty-eight in all; x and, if this is multiplied by three, they constitute two hundred and sixty-four homes. The distribution of these is shown on the sketch. No one need be surprised at the rather cramped quarters; for there being only a very few persons, there is also need for only a very little furniture. Other people who house vanity, extravagance, and a family of that sort, and who heap up baggage of iniquity, can never live spaciously enough. They burden others and are burdened themselves, and no one measures their necessities, nay even their comforts, easily otherwise than by an unbearable and unmovable mass. Oh, only those persons are rich who have all of which they have real need, who admit nothing else, merely because it is possible to have it in abundance! For as often as I have seen wealth on this earth I have also always noticed dissatisfaction standing by; but in only the one condition, which we call "lack," has contentment appeared.

### XIII. MECHANICS.

In walking around the city, I could easily notice what the distribution of the craftsmen was. For even as the city is four-cornered, so also its inhabitants deal with four materials: metals, stones, woods, and the things that are needed for weaving; but with this difference, that the occupations which require more skill and innate ability are assigned to the inner square, while those which admit of more ease in working, to the outer or greater square. And they, furthermore, regard clock-makers and organ-makers, cabinet-makers, sculptors, and masons on the same basis. This feature, moreover, is entirely peculiar to them, namely, that their artisans are almost entirely educated men. For that which other people think is the proper characteristic of a few (and yet, if you consider the stuffing of inexperience as learning, the characteristic of too many men already) this the inhabitants argue should be attained by all individuals. They say neither the subtleness of letters is such, nor yet the difficulty of work, that one man, if given enough, cannot master both. And yet there are some who incline more to this or to that occupation, who, if they prefer to make a craft a specialty, are made masters over their fellows, that they may in turn train up others and still others. I saw what mechanics I thought were workers in brass, tin, iron; knife-makers, turners, makers of jewel cases, of statuary, workers in gypsum, fullers, weavers, furriers, cobblers; and among the nobler crafts, sculptors, clock-makers, goldsmiths, organ-makers, engravers, goldleaf-beaters, ring-makers, and innumerable other like trades not to be despised. Tanners, harness-makers, blacksmiths, wagon<sup>^</sup> makers, trunk-makers, stonecutters, glass-makers, all these you will find here. Now that we have named those that follow the trades it might be said that patching, sewing, and embroidery are all done by the women, ft All these things are done not always because necessity demands, but for the purpose of a competition among the mechanics, in order that the human soul may have some means by which it and the highest prerogative of the mind may unfold themselves through different sorts of machinery, or by which, rather, the little spark of divinity remaining in us, may shine brightly in any material offered. Of the overseeing and incentives, as also of the hours of leisure and of work, we will speak later.

### XIV. PUBLIC PRAYERS.

Before I proceed, something should be said regarding their public worship. Three prayers are offered each day, morning, noon, and in the evening, when thanks are given to God for blessings received; and on bended knee and with folded hands, a continuation of His aid and a worthy death are implored in a solemn formula. No one may be absent from these prayers, except for the most urgent reason; parents bring all their children hither that they may learn even in infants' prattle to praise God. Then a reading from the Holy Scriptures is listened to, and the meeting, of about half an hour, is dismissed with a hymn. If the day be a special day, on which some remarkable instance of God's grace is to be commemorated, somewhat more time is expended in the devotions. These meetings are held in the larger halls of the towers, and each one has his assigned place. And nothing is more worthy of Christians than this observance. For though we owe secret prayers

to God, our best ones, and very frequent, yet this communion of spirits and prayers has a distinctly pleasant sound in the ears of God, and an especial efficacy. Those who neglect this are perhaps a little bit too sure of their salvation, while those who are expecting at some time a communion of saints, even as they plan all things in this world with a view toward the heavenly fatherland, so they are occupied in divine praise more diligently and more eagerly than in any other thing. On this account, happy and very wise are those who anticipate here on earth the firstlings of a life which they hope will be everlasting; and most unfortunately foolish are those who close their life with this most grievous mortality.

XV.  
FOOD.

Their meals are private to all, but the food is obtained from the public storehouse. And because it is almost impossible to avoid unpleasantness and confusion when the number of those partaking of a meal is so great, they prefer that individuals shall eat together privately in their own homes. Even as the food is distributed according to the nature of the year, so also it is apportioned weekly according to the number of families. But provision of wine is made for a half year, or if conditions admit, of still longer period. They get their fresh meat from the meat shop, and they take away as much as is assigned to them. Fish, as also game, and all sorts of birds are distributed to them according to each one's proportion, the time and age being taken into consideration. There are ordinarily four dishes, and these after being carefully washed are prepared by the women, and are seasoned with wise and pious words. Whoever wishes to have a guest may do so, and the parties concerned, join their dishes accordingly; or if it be a foreigner, they ask from the public supplies what may be necessary. For the kitchen, which I have mentioned above, serves this purpose, that whatever decency requires beyond the regular measure may be obtained from it. Since grown children are brought up elsewhere, in most instances a family consists of four or five, less frequently six individuals, father, mother, and one or two children. Servingmen and servingwomen are a rare thing, nor very noticeable, except in the case of those attending the sick, those in confinement, or babies. The husband and wife perform together the ordinary duties of the home, and the rest is taken care of in the public workshop. Matters relating to boys and girls just arriving at adolescence, we shall hear of later. Let us just consider for a minute what an enormous burden we would be freed from, if the multiplex difficulty of providing food and drink, and the perplexity and daily care of stuffing our stomachs were taken from us.

XVI.  
OCCUPATIONS.

Their work, or as they prefer to hear it called, "the employment of their hands," is conducted in a certain prescribed way, and all the things made are brought into a public booth. From here every workman receives out of the store on hand, whatever is necessary for the work of the coming week. For the whole city is, as it were, one single workshop, but of all different sorts of crafts. The ones in charge of these duties are stationed in the smaller towers at the corners of the wall; they know ahead of time what is to be made, in what quantity, and of what form, and they inform the mechanics of these items. If the supply of material in the work booth is sufficient, the workmen are permitted to indulge and give play to their inventive genius. No one has any money, nor is there any use for any private money; yet the republic has its own treasury. And in this respect the inhabitants are especially blessed because no one can be superior to the other in the amount of riches owned, since the advantage is rather one of power and genius, and the highest respect, that of morals and piety. They have very few working hours, yet no less is accomplished than in other places as it is considered disgraceful by all that one should take more rest and leisure time than is allowed. Since in other places it is true that ten working men with difficulty support one idler, it will not be difficult to believe that with all these men working there is some time of leisure left for the individuals. And yet they all together attend to their labors in such a way that they seem to benefit rather than harm their physical bodies. Where there is no slavery, there is

nothing irksome in the human body which weighs down or weakens. And who will doubt that where God is favorable, all things are done with greater force and zeal, more easily and more accurately than where, against the wishes and favor of God, a mass of useless buildings is heaped up?

#### XVII.

#### VACATION PERIODS.

It will not be unprofitable for us to see how the inhabitants of Christianopolis spend their leisure time, or to name it more properly, the breathing spell which is allowed one. When they have cheerfully done enough to fill the requirements of piety, patriotism, and literature, and have exercised their bodies in the mechanical arts according as the season admits, they take longer or shorter periods of quiet. This vacation, they say, they owe not so much to the flesh as to the spirit, not less to the soul than to the body. There is the greatest need that we return to ourselves as often as possible and shake off the dust of the earth; that we may restock our minds with generous resolutions and attack vice, it is necessary to take a fresh start; that we may revive the wearied faculties of the soul and sharpen our wits, we must stand near or even sit down upon a whetstone. Thus you will not expect to find the sporting of fools nor the noise of aimless wandering, the result of this national rest; but a relaxation of the mind, intent upon some subject, and especially a recollecting of things that pertain to a care of the future life, lest anything at all dearer or higher than God be brought back to us. So during these free hours it is common to see the greatest calmness among the citizens, many devoting themselves to some special service to God, or to some neighbor bearing a cross, or especially instructing each other mutually in Christian conversations. But alas how different among those who struggle in the world and whom Satan harasses, who weary the spirit and relax the flesh, who are occupied in the mud and rest in filth! They are never less with themselves than when alone. How therefore should they hear the Lord speaking among us! How should they attempt to do manly deeds of valor! How should they give birth to new offspring of genius or discover new inventions when between the tumults of others and themselves they grow deaf and stiff!

#### XVIII.

#### REWARDS.

And now, I judge, you will want to know of what advantage it is for one of regular morals and excelling talent to live in this city when you hear nothing of rewards. Well, he of the Christian City solves this difficulty very easily; for it is glory and gain enough for him to please God. And yet incentives of the Holy Spirit are not lacking. For really deeds of the children of God are of such weight with these citizens, so often are they praised, and in so many ways are they impressed upon the minds of the youth, that every generous nature burns with a desire to imitate. Besides, the pleasure of the consciousness of having done right, the dignity of a nature that has overcome darkness, the greatness of dominion over the passions, and above all, the unspeakable joy of the companionship of the saints, take possession of a refined soul far too deeply than that the renouncing of worldly pleasure should be feared. Even if anything makes it worth while on the part of a Christian to be preferred to others, here there is no prerogative except of virtue, in this order that the greatest worth is that of devotion to God, then of moderation, after<sup>^</sup> that of a subdued nature, and finally of human strength; and as far as each one is nearer the will of God, that much the more fitted is he thought to be for governing others. And since the world changes this around, understands but little the experience of a good life, and pricks up its ears to hear the pipe of vanity, it subjects the mind and body to the poorest guide. It is not surprising for one not to know what he wishes or does not wish, and for blind leaders, though promising light, to follow a far blinder one into the abysses of darkness.

#### XIX.

#### PENALTIES.

In the same way we may say of penalties, there is no use of these in a place that contains the very sanctuary of God and a chosen state, in which Christian liberty can bear not even commands, much less threats, but is borne voluntarily toward Christ. Yet it must be confessed that human flesh cannot be completely conquered anywhere. And so if it does not profit by repeated warnings (and in case of need, serious corrections) severer scourges must be used to subdue it. For this purpose fit remedies are on hand, not of one sort only, but chosen to suit different individuals. For truly, if one withdraws the sustenance from one's carnal appetites, or substitutes the cudgel for the tickle of lust, much may be remedied. It is the art of arts to guard against permitting sin to become easy for anyone. On the other hand, how wicked it is to vent one's wrath against those toward whose ruin you hurl stones. At any rate, the judges of the Christian City observe this custom especially, that they punish most severely those misdeeds which are directed straight against God, less severely those which injure men, and lightest of all those which harm only property. How differently the world does, punishing a petty thief much more harshly than a blasphemer or an adulterer. As the Christian citizens are always chary of spilling blood, they do not willingly agree upon the death sentence as a form of punishment; whereas the world, ever prodigal even of a brother's blood, pronounces wantonly the first sentence which occurs to it, feeling safe in this subterfuge that it has not personally employed sword, rope, wheel, and fire, but only through a servant of the law. Christ be my witness, it is certainly handsome logic on the part of a government to make thieves of dissolute characters, adulterers of the intemperate, homicides of loafers, witches of courtesans, in order that it may have someone with whose blood to make expiation to God! It is far more humane to tear out the first elements and roots of vice than\* to lop off the mature stalks. For anyone can destroy a man, but only the best one can reform.

XX.  
nobility.

In this republic no value is set on either succession of title or blood apart from virtue. For while it is true that those who deserve well are given the highest rank and are decked with medals, yet the advantage of this to their children, as in advance of others, is that they are admonished more frequently of this family example, and thus the heredity of virtue is inculcated. For if they possess this, they are easily moved to the laudable memory of their parents, in such a way however, that a free choice may not be detrimental to the new virtue. For those who rise in life by the help of God, which is the first moving factor of all virtues, are to be honored in the worship of God, and employed in conducting the state business. But this is always evident, that divine gifts rise here and sink there, thus showing that excelling is not a human attainment nor due to the distribution of a few men, but to the choice of heaven. It is not necessary to state what a mistake those make who so frequently take the license of sinning and the tinder of corruption out of the prerogative of family distinction, with the result that the offspring of heroes, who has not deteriorated, is an object of surprise. For as it is true that parents climb the lofty citadel of virtue over the difficult hills of work, so children often slide through the labyrinths of extravagant pleasure to the lowest engulfing depths of vice. If these should look back or around into the affairs of mortals, they would never admit that what might have commended them to God and men, did, by free rein to their pleasures and destruction of their flatterers, direct them into the readiest downward path of body and soul.

XXI.  
OFFICIALS.

This central part of the state is governed by eight men, each of whom lives in one of the larger towers. Under them are eight other subordinates, distributed through the smaller towers. The spirit of all of these is rather parental than overbearing; and the fear of those intrusted to the authorities is not greater than their respect. For whatsoever they I may order others to do, this they do also themselves. They do not lead any more with the voice than by their example. Nothing is easier than imitation under conditions of this kind, nothing more natural than following an

example, where no one corrects except he be himself above criticism; where no one teaches except he be himself learned; and where the rule itself is the precept. He who first brought violence and disdain into the world had nothing divine about him. God approaches His own, and is approached of them. God is heard of them and hears. So far from mutual worship and contempt being permitted us, earthen vessels of the same clay, it is not even seemly. Since all things in the Christian Republic are referred to God, there is no need of secrets and councils of state, in which Satan in his kingdom rejoices. Here everything is open, giving opportunity, forsooth, to fear God and to love one's neighbor, which is the very crowning point of human society as well as of divine law. What answer then will they give, who convert religion, justice, and human intercourse into veritable chains, shackles, and prisons; and who with wrinkled brow, poisoned dress, and oily tongue, a hardened heart and a grasping hand, wish not merely to be in command of men, but to lord it over beasts and fill whole volumes with these monstrosities? Surely neither the law of God nor the Gospels of Christ admit confusion; and yet they never praise the human dominion in their followers, but always inculcate a common brotherly communion. And now because the church has renounced these principles, she has become richer and more formidable, but not at all holier, she who could not be influenced even in her last cleansing to lay aside arrogance and harshness and persuade her curators to use a more sensible government. And so the Christian grieves and is kept in the midst of Christianity neither giving orders nor yet sufficiently obeying.

## XXII. PUBLIC WORKS.

There are also public duties, to which all citizens have obligation, such as watching, guarding, harvesting of grain and wine, working roads, erecting buildings, draining ground; also certain duties of assisting in the factories, which are imposed on all in turn according to age and sex, but not very often nor for a long time. For even though certain experienced men are put in charge of all the duties, yet when men are asked for, no one refuses the state his services and strength. For what we are in our homes, they are in their city, which they not undeservedly think a home. And for this reason it is no disgrace to perform any public function, so long as it be not indecent. Hence all work, even that which seems rather irksome, is accomplished in good time and without much difficulty, since the promptness of the great number of workmen permits them easily to collect or distribute the greatest mass of things. Who does not believe, since we are willing, all of us, to rejoice in and enjoy privileges and conveniences of a community, that the care and the work are ordinarily imposed upon a few, while continual idleness and gluttony are made permissible to the many? On the contrary, who denies that every citizen, in his own place and order, owes his best efforts to the republic, not merely with his tongue but also with hand and shoulder? With an entirely mistaken sense of delicacy do the carnal-minded shrink from touching earth, water, stones, coal, and things of that sort; but they think it grand to have in their possession to delight them, horses, dogs, harlots, and similar creatures. Now the inhabitants of Christianopolis laugh at this and not unjustly, since painted on their coats of arms they show here and there, not implements of fierceness and pomp, but those of humanity and work; and against other people the former prove a confession of their vanity and brutality.

## XXIII. THE HOMES.

No one owns a private house; they are granted and assigned to individuals for their use; and, if the state desires, they easily change their abodes. Almost all the houses are built after one model; they are well kept and especially free from anything unclean. There are three rooms in the average house, a bathroom, a sleeping apartment, and a kitchen. And the latter two are generally separated by a board partition. The middle part within the towers has a little open space with a wide window, where wood and the heavier things are raised aloft by pulleys. The house has one door and the head of the house is responsible for it. This leads to the balcony from which one ascends either through the towers or by way of a spiral stairs. In this connection the plan should

be examined carefully, for there is not leisure to recount details. At the rear of each building is a garden, kept with much care and nicety, inasmuch as the gardens are conducive to health and furnish fragrance. The roof serves a common purpose; for the walls, built up in steps and frequently constructed as a check for fire, separate and the gutters unite it. The buildings have double windows, one of glass and one of wood, inserted in the wall in such a way that each may be opened or closed as is desired. There are small, private cellars, for not a great deal need be stored in them. And so whatever extravagance and burdens there may be in the world, these people draw together into what you might call a very suitable shell, where nothing is lacking which should cover a man and contain his belongings. The houses are kept up at the expense of the state, and provision is made by the carefulness of inspectors that nothing is thoughtlessly destroyed or changed. Fire can hardly ever do any damage or break through and spread. They drive out cold with furnace heat, and counteract heat with shade. How unfortunate are those who believe that they have built lasting dwellings for themselves here and then discover too late that they have been working in the dark for others; meantime they have never been at home, not even in their own bodies. But even more unhappy, if Christ passes by their inauspicious palaces and enters the huts of the poor!

#### XXIV.

#### FURNITURE AND FURNISHINGS.

Now it will be easy to guess what the furnishings are. There are none except the most necessary, and even then scant. The beds for both family and stranger are comfortable, neat, and well arranged. The neatness of the women provides' for clean bedand table-linen as well as underwear and chaplets. There are the necessary dishes for the table and enough cooking utensils. For why should you want great numbers of things when all that you may reasonably desire can always be obtained at the public storehouse? They have only two suits of clothes, one for their work, one for the holidays; and for all classes they are made alike. Sex and age are shown by the form of the dress. The cloth is made of linen or wool, respectively for summer or winter, and the color for all is white or ashen gray; none have fancy, tailored goods. Drinking goblets are for the most part of glass, yet some are tin and the rest brass. Of the arms and letters we will speak later. It is quite evident that all this furniture requires no care except that incident upon cleaning, no guarding except the simplest, no expenses except the most insignificant; yet they are not less effective than the heaps, caves, chests, and like prisons of the riches of this world. If you need any instrument other than what is in daily use, you may get it at the supply house. For there are enough implements on hand, both private and public, since the whole state is one of artisans. Moreover, they ought to be ashamed of themselves who are inactive in the great multitude, but in the meantime pride themselves with all sorts of vessels and instruments, while they do absolutely nothing except with other people's hands, eyes, and ears, and in the same way accumulate wealth with useless solicitude; wretched they are in the midst of such a laborious and manifold group of props, with which they hope to be raised from the ground on stilts and appear sublime. They are made fools equally for their attempt to wander over the earth and to fly toward the sky.

#### XXV.

#### NIGHT LIGHTS.

They do not allow the night to be dark, but brighten it up with lighted lanterns, the object being to provide for the safety of the city and to put a stop to useless wandering about, but also to render the night watches less unpleasant. They would strive in this way to resist the dark kingdom of Satan and his questionable pastimes; and they wish to remind themselves of the everlasting light. What Antichrist expects from the great number of wax candles, let him see for himself; but let us not shrink back from any system which lessens the fear of a man working at night in\* the darkness, and which removes the veil which our flesh is so anxious to draw over license and dissoluteness. And vthere is no reason why we should consider expense here, when in other matters these citizens are exceptionally economical and when in other places there is the

greatest extravagance in most all affairs. Oh, if we would but turn more to the light, there would not be such an opportunity for every sort of meanness, nor such great numbers of swindlers! Would that the light of our hearts were burning more frequently, and that we would not so often endeavor to deceive the all-seeing eye of God! Now that the darkness serves as excuse for the world and opens it for all sorts of baseness, while it spreads blindness over those things of which it is ashamed, what will be the situation when at the return of Christ, the Sun, every fog will be dispelled and the world's corruptness which it guards with so many covers, shall appear, when the wantonness of the heart, the hypocrisy of the lips, the deceitful deeds of the hands, and its much other filth shall be a disgrace to itself and a mockery to the blessed?

XXVI.  
THE COLLEGE.

Now is the time when we approach the innermost shrine of the city which you would rightly call the center of activity of the state. It is square, two hundred and seventy feet on the outside, a hundred and ninety feet on the inside, bounded by four corner towers and intersected by as many others, opposite each other and inclosed by a double line of gardens. There are in the whole building four stories, rising respectively to a height of twelve, eleven, ten, and nine feet; and the towers extend eight feet more even above these. Toward the market-place, on the inside, there is an open porch, very attractive with its seventy-two columns. Here religion, justice, and learning have their abode, and theirs is the control of the city; and eloquence has been given them as an interpreter. Never have I seen so great an amount of human perfection collected into one place, and you will confess the same when you shall have heard a description of the sights. And yet I often\* wonder what people mean who separate and disjoin their best powers, the joining of which might render them blessed as far as this may be on earth. There are those who would be considered religious, who throw off all things human; there are some who are pleased to rule, though without any religion at all; learning makes a great noise, flattering now this one, now that, yet applauding itself most. What finally may the tongue do except provoke God, confuse men, and destroy itself? So there would seem to be a need of co-operation which only Christianity can give Christianity which conciliates God with men and unites men together, so that they have pious thoughts, do good deeds, know the truth, and finally die happily to live eternally. Let us then cooperate once lest we be separated for eternity.

XXVII.  
THE TRIUMVIRATE.

Now let us consider why they prefer an aristocracy to a monarchy. For though a monarchy has many advantages yet they prefer to preserve this dignity for Christ, and they distrust, not without cause, the self-control of human beings. Christ does not tolerate too absolute a representative, nor does a man raised too high look up at the sky; he looks down upon the earth. One's own experiences are the nearest, and they are worse, the more one is given to tyranny and weakness of character. In such an instance, at least, the triumvirate is the safest form of government, when it admits only the best in the state and those most experienced in public affairs, since one must work up through all steps of virtue to it. Each one of the leaders does his own duty, yet not without the knowledge of the others; all consult together in matters that concern the safety of the state. Each has a senate, but on fixed days they all meet together that decision in the most important matters may be reached with common consent. As is fitting, all these men must be loyal, prudent, and wise; yet some are designated for these ranks, or distinguished as being more exact. The chancellor announces all the decrees of the senators, repeats them, and makes them public. This man must be one of greatest tact and trustworthiness. No litigation is adjusted here; for the citizens have no controversies too great to be settled by the arbitration of the tribunes. But questions of the truth of the Christian religion, the cultivation of virtues, the methods of improving the mind; also the need of treaties, war, negotiations, buildings, and supplies are deliberated upon, with great, yet modest freedom and with a proper appreciation of

the gifts of God. So it comes that they act upon serious matters calmly while other peoples become disturbed and anxious over trivial things, a very evident witness of their vanity, who roll up and impose troubles upon themselves, or if there are none, trump up some in order that they may torture themselves in bearing up under them.

XXVIII.  
religion.

Looking all these things over, I might have suspected this place of being some fanatical city, since, in the world whatever seeks the skies is heretical. But a double plate on which stood the sum of their confession and profession inscribed in letters of gold, soon freed me from error. The words of this tablet, as I wrote them down, have the following import:

I. We believe with our whole heart in one triune God, very good, very wise, great, and everlasting: the Father, who created the world out of nothing, preserves, moves, and directs the same, whose ministers are good angels, against whom the condemned Satan is rebellious, whose delight is man, once the divine image and prince of the world, to whom sin is hateful, whose interpreter of all wisdom and summary of all uprightness is the Scriptures, and whose love, through the giving of His Son, is most open and kind.

II. We believe with a whole heart in Jesus Christ, the Son of God and Mary, coequal with the Father yet like us, our Redeemer, united as to personality in two natures and communicating in both, our Prophet, King, and Priest, whose law is grace, whose scepter is that of peace, whose sacrifice, that of the cross.

III. We believe in the same regeneration of the Spirit, the admission of sin, even the brotherhood of our flesh with Him and in Him, and the restoring to dignity, lost by the fall of Adam.

IV. We believe that by His life, suffering, and death He has given satisfaction to the justice of God, that mercy has been merited, the same has been brought to us through the Gospels, given over to our faith, intrusted to the purity of life, and that thence the dominion of sin was crucified, destroyed, and buried.

V. We believe that the kingdom of hell and the poison of death have been destroyed, and that in the victory of the resurrection, security has been restored to us under the care of God.

VI. We believe the kingdom of Christ is infinite and eternal, where He is present to His church at the right hand of the Father Omnipotent, Omnipresent, and that He feeds, keeps, and quickens her spiritually with His Word, even as He does literally with flesh and blood.

VII. We believe His supreme judgment, which He shall pronounce upon all men, good and evil, with highest majesty, and shall distinguish the just from the unjust most critically.

VIII. We believe with our whole heart in the Holy Spirit, our Comforter and Teacher, by whom we are sanctified, enlivened, and equipped, after we go from freedom to doing good, by whom we are made wise beyond nature, armed against nature, and put at peace with her; by whom we grow warm, are united and divided into languages; by whom we see and hear the past, present, and future properly correlated; by whom we look into the Word of God.

IX. We believe in a holy, universal church, purified by the water of baptism from infancy, and fed by the communion of the eucharist, thus guarded with the seals of the new covenant, taught in the ministry of the Word, disciplined with the cross, ready to serve in prayers, active in charity, generous in communion, powerful in excommunication, which though distributed over the earth, the unity of faith joins, the diversity of gifts strengthens, Christ, the Bridegroom and Head,

renders invincible, and which the standing of the different classes and the purity of marriage embellish.

X. We believe in a free forgiveness of all sins through the ministry of the Word, and in the obligation of our gratitude and obedience on account of this.

XI. We believe in the general resurrection of the human flesh, so much desired by the faithful that on account of it they particularly love a natural death; so formidable to the wicked that on account of it they consider the natural life to be especially cursed.

XII. We believe in an eternal life by which we shall obtain perfect light, ability, quiet, knowledge, plenty, and joy; by which also the malice of Satan, the impurity of the world, the corruption of men shall be checked; by which it shall be well with the good, and evil with evil-doers, and the visible glory of the Holy Trinity shall be ours forever.

XXIX.

#### ADMINISTRATION OF THE STATE.

Thus far it has been permitted us to hear about the religion; the other tablet prescribes the rules of daily life, and the words read as follows:

I. We strive with all our strength to submit ourselves in all reverence and adoration to God, the one Founder and Ruler of the human race, and to prefer nothing in heaven or on earth to Him; to refer our life and all our actions to His glory and to succeed with His aid.

II. We strive never to provoke the holy name of God with any form of blasphemy, never to alienate it by grumbling, dishonor it by frivolity, neglect it on account of laziness; and we strive to regard reverently the most holy mysteries of our salvation.

III. We strive to have leisure ever for our God, to rest from the confusion of cravings of the flesh, to provide a quiet shrine for the Trinity, a pure dwelling place for our neighbor, breathingspace for all creatures, to devote our time only to the Divine Word.

IV. We strive to preserve and practice love to parents, respect to our superiors, propriety to our equals, modesty toward those that have been trusted, labor for the republic, a good example to posterity, and to perform the duties of Christian love with mutual kindnesses.

V. We strive to bridle our wrath, to restrain our impatience, to value human blood, to forget revenge, to abhor jealousy, and carefully to imitate the very gentle heart of Christ.

VI. We strive to shield the innocence of youth, the virginity of maidens, the purity of matrimony, the unpolluted restraint of widowhood, and to overcome luxury and intoxication with the temperance and fasting of the flesh.

VII. We strive to enjoy the goods intrusted to us by God, as diligently as possible, peacefully, properly, and with giving of thanks; to exercise the duties of acquisition and distribution as justly as possible, of employment modestly and of conservation safely.

VIII. We strive to propagate the light of truth, the purity of conscience, the integrity of bearing testimony, freely and correctly, to reverence the presence of God at every time and place, to protect the innocent and to convict the guilty.

IX. We strive to disturb nothing of another, nor to confound divine with human things, to submit to our lot, to inhabit our dwellings peacefully, and to despise the sojourning place of the whole world.

X. We strive so to establish our intercourse that each one's property be given and preserved to him, and that no one would rather covet the affairs of another than to put his own in order and devote them to the glory of God and the public safety.

When I had read these tablets I was not a little more strengthened in the belief that here lived a people of Christ, whose religion agreed with that of the apostles and the state administration with the law of God. For although pseudo-Christians boast of these two characteristics, yet anyone who associates with them," even occasionally, ^will easily see that their words are sacred, but their secret acts unfeeling; though their confession is honorable, their confusion is distressing; it will be evident that their formula of peace is very frequently a thoroughfare of discord; meantime they accuse their flesh and yet will not accept the helping hand of God nor the corrections of the Spirit.

#### THE MINISTER OR PRESBYTER.

Now when I was led away from this place, I was admitted into the presence of the chief priest, not by any means a Roman pontifex, but a Christian. His name was Abialdon, a man of revered old age and from whose countenance there shone real divinity. No one is more practiced in the Holy Word, no one more experienced in the same. When he was graciously and zealously speaking with me, I recognized the ambassador and mediator of God; he did not look at things of the earth at all. When I attempted according to our custom to recognize this man with titles, he, disdaining such earthly absurdities, would not tolerate it, saying he considered himself sufficiently well appreciated if I believed him to be the servant of God and my spiritual father. They say that he is very often inspired of God and that he then announces some unusual things, but with the greatest modesty of the spirit. Only once a week, and that on Sunday, he addresses the people and teaches them with divine eloquence; and they confess that they have never listened to him without receiving an inward impulse for good. He is ashamed to advise others to do a thing which he has not already done himself. Hence when standing before the people, though he be silent, he teaches. His whole time he spends in sacred meditations and especially in efforts to further Christianity, and he seeks no other refreshment than heavenly food. When he blessed me I felt something warm within me, and it permeated my whole being. Truly this genuine theology is more efficacious than the assertions of many among the worldly. I blushed when I remembered the pride, greed, jealousy, and wine-drinking of some, and the other sins of our sacred order. You would suppose that they did not themselves believe what they were persuading others to believe, granted that they have actually learned to persuade anyone. Under their good favor, I was well pleased with Abialdon, a man of fervent spirit, but temperate flesh, a lover of the heavens, but forgetful of the things of the world, always doing, rarely speaking, intoxicated with God, abstaining from voluptuousness, guarding the flock, neglecting himself, first in merit, last in boasting.

#### XXXI. CONSCIENCE.

I do not hesitate either to praise the wife of the preacher (for he is a married man). Her name is Senidis, a very excellent woman, observing to the last detail the rules of piety and moderation. She neglects nothing of which it is right that her husband should be advised. Being very sensible herself, she is not often deceived; and being upright she does not deceive others. She always bears an untroubled countenance and is of calm mind, being, as she well knows, most happily married. She has blessed her husband with a numerous and beautiful offspring; two of these children are daughters, Alethea and Parrhesia. She guards her own affairs carefully, takes greatest pride in her married state, and seeks nothing else. In order that nothing may go wrong, because of her negligence, she tends things carefully and aspires. to cleanliness in everything. She speaks when there is reason. At other times she prefers to keep silent. When there is need of skill and diligence she has no equal; for this reason the hangings and coverings of the shrine were woven by

her hands. When I remember her, I am disgusted with worldly women; for they either are superstitiously scrupulous, or altogether dull, or they rudely scold, or they admit anything however wicked, or they wrinkle up their faces, or they revel wantonly; finally they keep giving their husbands advice, and never in season; they never love them sincerely nor take care of them economically. Forsooth, such is the light-mindedness of the consciences of the world, that after the dances of human vanity, when the honey of vices has turned bitter, they do not turn to God with a timely change of heart; but they annoy one with their dog-like yelps and drive people to desperate, hasty acts. Happy is that holy matron who by her example has taught that it is possible to pay the closest attention to one's affairs, and yet be holy with a joyful countenance.

XXXII.

THE MINISTER'S ASSISTANT OR THE DIACONUS.

The church of the Christian City has also a diaconus by the name of Achban. He is very closely associated with Abialdon, and his duty is to educate the youth, distribute the sacraments, perform marriage ceremonies, and give comfort to the sick. Not that this is not also the office of the presbyter himself, but less his than that of the diaconus. The superior does not despise his colleague, but rather the colleague has the greatest respect for his superior. The former does not burden and weigh down the latter with heavy tasks, but the latter supports the former. The one does not command, but the other is naturally obedient. Even as between father and son there should be a mutual affection, exactly such is the relation in this case, though there is little difference in their ages. No power commands more effectively and none serves more readily than love. The diaconus does not care to make any changes, nor does he ever forget himself so far as to boast. But he is glad to hear from his spiritual father what God commands, what is best for the church. He preaches one sermon before the people in the middle of the week. I do not know why they should meet in assembly less often than others, unless it be, as I suspect, that they prefer to have sermons well prepared, a thing impossible when there are too many in a given time; and they make up the difference generously with their daily prayers and readings. They receive from their theological seminary those who read in public the devout meditations of illustrious servants of God, a custom which they think far in advance of the juvenile efforts of others. And it did not displease me either when I heard a reading grounded on a firmer basis than mere doubtful memory. Truly one man is not sufficient to hearken unto the Holy Spirit, bridle his passions, tame the barbarians, bear his labors, take care of his family, and earn his daily bread; and yet the world asks this very thing of ministers twenty years of age; and, for fear they may have a lack of something to do, they are compelled to combat hunger. I marvel at two points truly, in the case of men who prevail upon mere boys to care for their souls, and who are prevailed upon to intrust their souls to them. Of course I would give way if there were many like Timothy, but since I see so few of these, and especially since I see so much wickedness, I grieve for the lot of the church which is vexed at the sluggishness and audacity of the world.

XXXIII.

the judge.

Then I met the second of the triumvirs, Abiefer by name, a man born after such a pattern that he does to no one what he would not wish done to himself, and what he desires for himself, he tries to secure for all. Neither blood nor riches, which here amount to nothing, exalted him; but a calm and peace-loving soul. He does not make his responses, confined, as it were, and seated on a tripod; and a citizen does not tremble at his look; but like the rising sun, he shines upon all and clears up everything. To state it all briefly, he is the pater familias of the city, and he rejoices in being called the minister of Christ. It is his duty to keep close watch over the measures, weights, and numbers, and to administer the specific proportion of things. Whatever methods they exercise in taming their passions and in thoroughly overcoming Adam, these he considers his sphere and he regulates everything with a view toward life eternal. For he feels that the best plan for a republic is one which agrees as nearly as possible with heaven; and being very pious himself, he

believes that a propitious God is the salvation of a city, the destruction of the same a wrathful God. So he strives that the Divinity become not offended by the sins of the citizens, that it rather be conciliated by adornments of faith. Hence the city is invincible, unless it yield first to its own vices. No evil however small is admitted into it, and the citizens do not fear Satan's influence, but overthrow it as soon as possible. Surely one could never wonder enough at the feeling of security of the world, which tolerates the public trading in vices and does not fear contagion; which offers abominations to God and is not sure of the latter's disgust; which deals with the greatest political schemes and yet boasts of a Christian society; which thinks it has provided enough for itself when it is sure that one is not lacking who will govern it with great pomp and with the greatest protection of all lusts. Even as the Christian City is august and most flourishing because of its watchfulness of justice, so worldly cities wither away from day to day under the weakness of wickedness.

XXXIV.  
UNDERSTANDING.

Now I pray that you listen to some facts regarding his wife. I have never seen a woman less credulous, I have never heard conversation deeper or more considerate. But if she once believes a thing and repeats it, you may depend upon its being true. Hence she does not do anything without cause, a cause in which her husband agrees. She has the sight of an eagle, eyes that can bear the light of the sun and can see very far. She tolerates no empty rumors nor the unreliable reports of the crowd. She does not tolerate the concealment of virtue nor the advertisement of vice; she does not countenance the restriction of liberty nor the loosing of servitude; nor does she stand any overhastiness. Her husband is not ashamed to discuss difficult problems with her; he hears her freely, but reserves the decision for himself. If she gets a little too curious regarding matters of his sphere he holds her in check and admonishes her of heaven, and requires that she restrict herself to her own duties. Thus she lives peaceably and joyfully, under the direction of her husband, a very fitting example to those who either communicate all things or nothing with the women. Whoever has a logician for wife cannot even believe in God, unless the wife gives her approval, and he takes oath to all her foolishness as being entirely true. He who has an Athenian, never bears the slightest interruption. What utterly absurd things are done in a republic because the why is neither known nor tolerated. The world has faith in the unbelieving, follows the blind, is mortally afraid of the weak, raises the lazy, and admits Heaven knows what absurdities. It ought not, then, take offense when someone laughs at it; it should rather appreciate the talkative ones who keep asking it with importunity why it does and suffers this or that. The world will never regret having been urged from darkness into light, from servitude into freedom.

XXXV.  
measure.

As assistant to this second triumvir stands Achitob, the state economist, whose care it is that the state revenues and storehouse supplies are so distributed among the individuals, that not less than his just amount falls to each one. This is not so difficult a task as one might suppose; for since no one lays claim to any prerogative or asks as his right more food than the season of the year and the custom of the city prescribe, but all preserve an equal ratio, the dividing is quickly done in accordance with the number, and the amount of the year's produce; and to see that the food is cleanly and properly cooked, is the special duty and care of the women, who also are to seek out and prepare for the sick those articles of food which are best adapted to them. Achitob has great ability at figuring and he so divides the yearly produce among the citizens that they never hunger, nor yet feast at the expense of their intellectual nature. This is a very desirable arrangement, especially in comparison with those, some of whom suffer hunger and others of whom measure the divine goodness not by plenty, but by superabundance and nausea. They are unworthy of life who seek the chief thing in life on the table or in the stomach, and who pay no attention to the food of heaven; but while the poor-looking servants of God are ascending to

heaven, these persons, swelled by the foods of the world, are forced down to hell by the weight of their bellies. Nature is content with but few necessities; neither earth, sea, nor air is sufficient for the gluttony of one man until at length he is tortured in fire without end or measure.

XXXVI.

THE DIRECTOR OF LEARNING.

The third of the triumvirs, Abida, has the sphere of human learning. I found him, contrary to expectation, without haughtiness or laziness. All about the man was kindly, nothing crabbed. It was thought there was little he did not know; yet in his modesty he professed an ignorance of all things. There was lack of nothing except, among his colleagues, the decorations of titles. He always said that the man who studied as a disciple under the direction of the Holy Spirit, had accomplished something. When I inquired as to the sum of all learning, he mentioned Christ and Him crucified, saying that all things pointed toward Him. He seemed at one time contemning the earth and praising the heavens; and then again he seemed to be estimating the earth highly, and the heavens as of less value. For he insisted that a close examination of the earth would bring about a proper appreciation of the heavens, and when the value of the heavens had been found, there would be a contempt of the earth. At the same time he entirely disapproved of all that literature which did not bring one nearer to Christ; if it tended to separate one from Christ, he cursed it. He centered all importance in the church, which had been tossed about so many thousands of years upon the world-ocean; to the church were due, he said, all tongues, all history, all reasoning, all signs of nature, all arts of the heavens; then finally one might expect the gift of blessed eternity. Only Christians have knowledge, but it is of God. All remaining things are foolishness, because they come out of one's self. These facts surprised me greatly, when I heard all things made light of, which among others are praised highly. But I was convinced when I remembered why we are born into this world, namely, to enjoy Christ, our absolute necessity, our invaluable gain. But when it falls our lot to die, woe to the miserable literature which has fed us for a few days on smoke! Arise, thou sacred science which shall explain to us Christ, that we may here learn things that are not to be unlearned, but to be increased and extended into all ages!

XXXVII.

TRUTH.

I owe it to the excellent matron, his wife, since she was kind to me, to explain incidentally what kind of a woman she is. Nothing about her is false, everything simple and open. Whatever she sees, against divinity or humanity, she disapproves, but she chooses with kindness and sense. She knows of nothing so objectionable as hypocrisy and sophistry; she looks at all things from top to bottom, and such as she finds them, she makes them known to her husband. She sets no value upon gossip; but rejoices in the silence of the Spirit; if any difference of opinion arises among the women, no one is more fit for conciliation than she is. Her conversation is brief and full of Christ, as is self-evident, and she convinces her adversaries without excitement. She preserves her modesty inviolate, though several times she was wooed by the philosophers on account of the charm of her countenance. Oh, marriage, blessed and much to be preferred by all persons, which unites those who are joined unencumbered with prejudices, cringing flattery, and falsehood! And though they are deceived by them, the deception pleases them and they prefer to hear monstrous fabrication rather than facts that are in accord with their own feelings. Alas for such willing blindness, such voluntary sadness! In the presence of their dead bodies they dream of immortality; in the darkness they dream of clear light; in the midst of crime they dream of a well regulated life; with shackles on their feet, of wings; and what not..How true it is that the number of fools is never greater nor more intolerable than among those who profess wisdom. This most praiseworthy woman has done me this kindness, that she warned me of many mistakes, never before known to me.

XXXVIII.

the tongue.

The chancellor whom I mentioned above was in the neighborhood. He, too, is anxious to be called a minister of Christians. He is of great importance; hence I would consider him a very bad influence in a wicked state, but an excellent one in a good state. They make sport of us who believe that he hears one thing and speaks another. I have found him frank and even perhaps somewhat heedless. He has good cause for avoiding intemperance; as a matter of fact, he married Moderation, a woman of excellent counsel, and she, as she is very observant of sacred silence, tempers all his conversation very happily. When he has to speak of God, he trembles; when of Christ, he exults; when of the Holy Spirit, he becomes enthusiastic; when his speech concerns man, he grieves; when it concerns nature, he investigates; when Satan, he is disgusted; when the world, he is ashamed; when death, he smiles; when heaven, he looks up. Never does he seem to be doing less than when he discusses daily matters; to such a degree he says we are engaged in details. He values time not to the first minute, but to the sixth or seventh, so that hour-glasses are not at all required. Coins are not cared for elsewhere, as he guards his words, for fear some hateful or poisonous one will escape his lips. And so all around the Word of God resounds, Jesus speaks, the Holy Spirit breathes, man is ennobled, human nature is controlled, Satan gnashes his teeth, the world laughs, death loses its sting, and the heavens open. It is surely an admirable instrument of God, which guards the oaths and rights of humanity, and is anxious to imitate the Word of God. For what Christ is to the universe, that this interpreter is to this Christian society, in that he brings to light all that is hidden, and makes known the secret corners. If God favors, he praises Him; if He tests misdeeds, he confesses; if He is angry, he intercedes; and if He imposes a cross, he accepts it. If Satan interferes, he disputes the matter; if the flesh oppresses him, he sighs; and if supplies are withheld, he warns; what need of more cases? Whatsoever the Creator commands and is befitting the creature, he attempts according to his own ability and carries out with the readiest obedience, while the carnal-minded carry around burning torches in their mouths with which they set God, men, the world, and themselves afire, so that finally they blaze in inextinguishable flame.

#### XXXIX.

#### THE LIBRARY.

When now I had paid my respects to these chief men, I was to be shown the halls of the citadel. There were twelve, destined to preserve the public affairs, all arched, thirty-three feet wide, thirty-three feet long, but not over twelve feet high. In the first room, a library of considerable size, were guarded the creations of great and innumerable natures, divided into groups and distributed according to subject-matter. Whatever we think has been lost, this I found there, to my very great surprise, almost without exception. There is no language on earth which has not contributed something of its own to this place, no mind which is not here represented. Yet the citizens seemed to me not to consider the use of it very highly, and they were satisfied with fewer books the more thorough ones. The highest authority among them is that of sacred literature, that is, of the Divine Book; and this is the prize which they recognize as conceded by divine gift to men and of inexhaustible mysteries; almost everything else they consider of comparatively little value, yet they are very well read and fortified in advance by this remedy, that they admire nothing that is mere babble. And they write books too, not because of any desire for reputation, but with a view toward spreading the Christian faith, scorning the world, and rebuking Satan. This is the ardent desire of all, to realize how little one really knows, and from this starting-point to aspire to the true knowledge and to disdain the vain boast of the human mind. But there are many things which it is expedient not to know in this life, wherefore a holy simplicity is for many a library in itself. Others say they have enough to study out of the volume of this universe. While very many assert that they find more within themselves and trace the sources of all arts more easily, than out of whole piles of books. And so they are disgusted with all things in the world which do not have in them anything godly, and they collect them for a mockery of the human mind that they may convince their people of the uselessness of such. Farewell then to books, if we

follow them only! Hail Christ, the Book of Life, out of which more easily, surely, and safely we may learn all.

XL.

#### THE ARMORY.

Of the armory, which lies on the other side, they have a still more critical opinion. For while the world especially glories in war-engines, catapults, and other machines and weapons of war, these people look with horror upon all kinds of deadly and death-dealing instruments, collected in such numbers; and they show them to visitors not without disapproval of human cruelty disapproval, because so much is being contrived for seeking and dealing death, when death itself is so very near, and even hidden in one's bosom; disapproval, that a man will take such a risk to bring upon his nearest brother that at which he himself trembles; that so much danger is being overlooked in the hope, doubtful and for the most part treacherous, of some gain or another; finally that such fierceness and violence is expended upon striving for things of absolutely no value, when a greater and more deadly danger impends from Satan, the world, and even from our own selves. However, they do bear arms, though unwillingly, for keeping off some greater evil, and they distribute them privately among the individual citizens, that they may serve in the homes in the case of sudden emergency. Meantime, they impress all the more seriously upon them that they be mindful of their spiritual armor, never expose their bodies, defenseless and bare of virtues, to Satan, never through drunkenness and gluttony forget their watches, but that they be swift and brave at their stations, elude the enemy in ambush, and when he takes the offensive, repel him, strengthened with the spirit of God.

XLI.

#### THE ARCHIVES.

The hall adjoining the library is set apart for preserving the judicial proceedings, laws, and public acts of the state. Here one may see the annals of many periods, from them behold the words and deeds of their predecessors, and compare these with the things accomplished or being accomplished at present. If anything has been honorably and bravely done, it stands out as an example and a stimulus; if otherwise, they have opportunity to change and, as it were, upbraid themselves. No one may be ignorant of the past history of his country; but the latter so strongly re-echoes every age, that they think they have lived in almost any age. Those who have excelled in merit to the advantage of their country, have great reputation; nor do those have less fame who have shone forth in loyalty to God, good sense toward the citizens, bravery against the enemy, or genius in the direction of the arts. When others neglect this, they are not without blame. How few people of to-day know the movements, plans, and transactions of a former age, or hear the lives of predecessors openly and frankly described! Meantime people dream that they all were demigods; and if anyone says they have made a mistake in anything, they resent it. No one really writes about the affairs of the world except flattery, the greatest enemy of posterity. Flattery loves the deceit herself, and so rejoices to pass it along to her children; though her own people accuse each other mutually, though they live basely in fact, yet their lives as pictured by the parasites, are the very images of virtue. Hence it is that many consider the biographies of the elders somewhat doubtfully, when they see that they stand forth from the pens of the authors on a slippery footing. The frankness of just one man, Thanus, received the applause of the public; but though one may praise, he is hardly permitted to imitate. If anyone would attempt the same thing among his own people, he would be flogged. Men are so base that though they do not at all revere the sight of God, yet they themselves can hardly bear to look upon their likenesses represented according to life, nor to expose them to the view of posterity.

XLII.

#### PRINTING.

Next to this is situated the printing shop, the home of an invention that has proved itself for both the advantage and the disadvantage of our age; in this place at least it is harmless. For beyond the Holy Scriptures and those books which instruct the youth and aid the devotion of the citizens, little printing is done. Private copies of the Bible are owned by individuals in their own language, as are also principles of confession, books of hymns and prayers, and such other documents as make for piety. Whatever inquiries benefit the school, are printed in great numbers so that they may serve Christian boyhood. Scattering literature which expresses doubt concerning God, which corrupts the morals or imposes upon man's mind is not permitted. To whatever extent printing presses are defended elsewhere, they nevertheless err to the limit; for though everyone's curiosity is satisfied, one's own ambition and the purse of the printer, yet no concern is felt for God, or the harm to one's neighbor. How many vast volumes of nothingness, what a mass of lies and fallacies are accumulated in the twofold output of the year! One is surprised that there are men who can read through even the titles. For these are the fruits of a learned, boastful age, that the wise and the unwise, side by side and publicly, trifle with such an abundance of productions, and think that unless someone has placed their name in the public market catalogue, it is all up with literature and religion. For nothing can be collected so foolishly, invented so tastelessly, described so crudely, presented so uselessly but the bookshops will keep it.

XLIII.  
the treasury.

Adjoining the armory is the treasury; this has no use at all among the citizens, but is not to be scorned in its relation to foreigners. No one would believe what an amount of coined gold and silver there is here in stock; with it they may pay tribute to Caesar, support mercenaries when it becomes necessary, trade with foreigners, give to strangers, and support their industries. Whatever has money value, they think has least value; what has been purchased with blood, has the greatest value. The inscriptions on the coins are, on the one side, // God Be with Us Who Can Be Against Us, and on the other side, The Word of the Lord Endures Forever. The former face bears the representation of an eagle with a cross athwart; the latter, their city resting on a book. And so, money which weakens every other part of the world, lies here unnoticed and of no further value except for its usefulness; and it has no need of an especial guard, since no one in the republic can use it. So here men are served without injury by that which among others is injurious and insuppressible, more than all dragons and monsters. To money is due public corruption; with it the heavens are sold, the soul is fettered, the body bound, hell bought. Whatever sin is committed is attributed to money and not unjustly, when men accuse themselves before having been caught by so very cheap a thing. How easily bought is the human race which has sold its Christian liberty to Antichrist, its natural liberty to tyranny, and its human liberty to sophistry; and has surrendered its wretched efforts for the cheapest return: superstition, servitude, and ignorance!

XLIV.

THE LABORATORY.

Behind the treasury is the laboratory, dedicated to chemical science and fitted out with most ingenious ovens and with contrivances for uniting and dissolving substances. No one here need fear because of the mockery, falseness, or falsehoods of impostors; but let one imagine a most careful attendant of nature. Here the properties of metals, minerals, and vegetables, and even the life of animals are examined, purified, increased, and united, for the use of the human race and in the interests of health. Here the sky and the earth are married together; divine mysteries impressed upon the land are discovered; here men learn to regulate fire, make use of the air, value the water, and test earth. Here the ape of nature has wherewith it may play, while it emulates her principles and so by the traces of the large mechanism forms another, minute and most exquisite. Whatever has been dug out and extracted from the bowels of nature by the industry of the

ancients, is here subjected to close examination, that we may know whether nature has been truly and faithfully opened to us. Truly that is a humane and generous undertaking, which all who are true human beings deservedly favor. Others, on account of the wickedness of too many or angered by their unhappiness, refuse with foolish haughtiness every investigation of nature and examination of human reason, considering themselves sufficiently wise when they make attempts at the most ingenious art, with one or the other form of mockery, and do not at all remember how infinitely many things they accept and believe only because they have been marked down and mentioned to them; how carelessly they spurn the most evident gifts and remedies of nature, and yet obey the most ridiculous tales of peddlers and quacks. I have transgressed, I suppose, against the haughtiness of many, and against the prejudice of many; but they will grant me their forgiveness when they hear that I did not exercise this art but only watched it; and being of courteous nature, I interpreted it more kindly and advantageously.

XLV.

THE DRUG SUPPLY HOUSE.

Outside the gate now, stands the pharmacy, and no place in the world has a more carefully selected collection. For inasmuch as the citizens have a strong inclination toward the natural sciences, this pharmacy is for them a veritable miniature of all nature. Whatsoever the elements offer, whatever art improves, whatever all creatures furnish, it is all brought to this place, not only for the cause of health, but also with a view toward the advancement of education in general. For how can the division of human matters be accomplished more easily than where one observes the most skillful classification, together with the greatest variety! This is a very liberal conception, though contrary to the accepted school, and it is entirely inseparable from literature. For what a narrow thing is human knowledge if it walks about as a stranger in the most wholesome creations and does not know what advantage this or that thing bears to man, yet meanwhile wanders about in the unpleasant crackle of abstractions and rules, none the less boasting of this as a science of the highest order! It should rather be the aim, after something has been accomplished with that theory, to prove its practical value to men; after the nomenclature of things, to recognize also the things themselves. Shall theory be so needy that after receiving the precepts of the arts, she should make no attempt at the accomplishment of anything and in the very profession of scholarliness, should consult those who are unlearned? There is enough of our life, if it is spent economically, that we may obtain the best things far more easily than the worst. There is more vexation and irksome labor in the foolishness with which men wear out their powers, than in those things which can raise them aloft and admit them to a contemplation of our earth. So they are whirled around and whirl others about in a perpetual maelstrom in irrevocable infamy.

XLVI.

ANATOMY.

They have also a place given over to anatomy, that is, the dissecting of animals, because nothing is so nearly a miracle as the workshop of the bodies of living things, and especially of man, who may be called a miniature example, an epitome, of the whole world. The value of ascertaining the location of the organs and of assisting the struggles of nature no one would deny, unless he desires to be as ignorant of himself as are the barbarians. And yet there are some persons, even among the educated, who do not know where they live, feel, breathe, digest, or discharge, except that they think these functions are performed somewhere within their skins. For them, right differs very little from left, or lowest from highest. The inhabitants of Christianopolis teach their youth the operations of life and the various organs, from the parts of the physical body. They show them the wonderful structure of the bones, for which purpose they have not a few skeletons and of the required variety. Meantime they also show the anatomy of the human body, but more rarely because the rather sensitive human mind recoils from a contemplation of our own sufferings. Let us, therefore, lament the fact that our little dwelling so carefully formed, snatched

from so many dangers, and not a few times clad more delicately than damage to life warranted, should end by passing into such a state of foulness and horror. But even as the origin of our life is a thing to blush at, so the rapidity of our dying has its cause of shame with equal merit. Meantime we do hardly find the number of our diseases, nay even, we rarely compute all the afflictions of one member of the human body. Let us then praise our Christ who, though clad in the same flesh as we, obtained for us the ability of sometime being able to take up again our decaying bodies, purified and refined. In consideration of this we will bear the grievous burden of the flesh, readily and willingly, wherever it pleases Him; we will give over all our members to God; we will dedicate them to His service and will freely return them to Him when He demands them.

#### XLVII.

#### THE NATURAL SCIENCE LABORATORY.

Upon this follows the hall of physics, and this cannot be too elegantly described. For natural history is here seen painted on the walls in detail and with the greatest skill. The phenomena in the sky, views of the earth in different regions, the different races of men, representations of animals, forms of growing things, classes of stones and gems are not only on hand and named, but they even teach and make known their natures and qualities. Here you may see the forces of agreement and of opposition; you may see poisons and antidotes; you may see things beneficial and injurious to the several organs of man's body. When I have mentioned these things, it is all of no value unless you shall see everything before your eyes. For if you should wish to examine only those cases even, in which the rare, freakish, and unusual specimens of nature are kept, there would be no end. Truly, is not recognition of things of the earth much easier if a competent demonstrator and illustrative material are at hand and if there is some guide to the memory? For instruction enters altogether more easily through the eyes than through the ears, and much more pleasantly in the presence of refinement than among the base. They are deceived who think that it is impossible to teach except in dark caves and with a gloomy brow. A liberal-minded man is never so keen as when he has his instructors on confidential terms. To what shall we attribute it that we see many professing natural science who hesitate when placed face to face with some little herb, unless we suspect that they have never been admitted to this very pleasant view of nature? If these people should hear citizens of Christianopolis or even boys at their play recognizing, naming, and investigating according to their characteristic marks and signs thousands of herbs, classifying them with respect to diseases, they would blush perhaps, or, what is more to the purpose, they would never leave this auditorium unless they left it instructed with a broader knowledge of nature.

#### XLVIII.

#### PAINTING AND PICTURES.

Opposite the pharmacy is a very roomy shop for pictorial art, an art in which this city takes the greatest delight. For the city, besides being decorated all over with pictures representing the various phases of the earth, makes use of them especially in the instruction of the youth and for rendering learning more easy. And so the individual rooms have pictures adapted to them, and they thus advise the youth of the things pertaining thereto. Besides, pictures and statues of famous men, with their manly and ingenious deeds, are to be seen everywhere, an incentive of no mean value to the youth for striving to imitate their virtue. But they are seriously commanded to observe purity, this being taken, I believe, as a result of the audacity and impurity of the world, which poisons the eyes of the innocent with impure pictures. The divisions of this art, or rather the comrades, are architecture, perspective, methods of pitching and fortifying camps, and even sketches of machines and statistics. Whatever of the dramatic spiritual things have, or whatever else there may be like literary elegance, it can all be seen here, purposely prepared for scholars. The very time, which these people spend with a view toward this learned enjoyment, others waste oftentimes in dice, chess, or in other still more foolish games; from these, the latter get the following wonderful use: that for examining into matters and explaining them to other people they

have no knowledge at all, but they gaze in useless wonder. How much more happily the others practice with the brush, so that wherever they enter, they bring along their experienced eyes, their hands adapted to imitation, and what is of greater importance, a judgment equal to and already trained for things, not unfruitful or mean. At the same time also the beauty of forms is so pleasing to them that they embrace with a whole heart the inner beauty of virtue itself and the elegance of a Christian life.

#### XLIX.

#### MATHEMATICAL INSTRUMENTS.

Adjoining this workshop is an excavated place for mathematical instruments, a testimony of human acuteness and energy against our mortal chains. For though the sky is so far distant from us and the wings of our original perfection are wanting, yet we are not willing that anything should take place there without our knowledge. Hence we determine the ways of the stars with a number of mechanical devices, and mark them down, to such a degree of accuracy that it is surprising that man could have enough patience and perseverance to enter upon such theories. I will not enumerate the instruments here, inasmuch as nearly all of them are understood from the description of the most eminent Tycho Brahe. 1 A very few have been added, and among these is the very valuable telescope recently invented. The instruments which serve the purpose of geometry are here, and a great number of the common ones which aid the efforts of students. But why do I rehearse these facts, as if I did not know how useless all ingenious implements seem to the masses who make an effort not to be able to use any mathematical instrument! They betray themselves by this very fact, in that they throw aside half of learning, and though born for practical human affairs, render themselves useless. Therefore, until those who profess to be broadly educated without mathematics shall return into her favor, I shall not believe nor will I bear witness that they are really educated; I will pronounce them only half educated, and they shall bear testimony to this accusation against themselves whenever they shall suffer themselves to be led forth upon the forum of human sciences. When then they shall recognize the value of the instruments of the liberal arts and the profits of computation, and shall skillfully apply them, they should be honored. If like strangers in a foreign land they shall bring to humanity no assistance or counsel or judgment or device, then I think they deserve to be contemned and classed with the tenders of sheep, cattle, and hogs.

#### XLX.

#### THE MATHEMATICS LABORATORY.

Finally, to hasten on, I saw also the neighboring hall of mathematics, remarkable for its diagrams of the heavens, as the hall of physics is for its diagrams of the earth. Here was represented graphically the primary motion as well as those motions derived from it. A chart of the starstudded heavens and a reproduction of the whole shining host above were shown. Whether one cared to see the hemisphere convex, concave, or flattened; the particular and accurate figures of individual stars; the harmony of the heavenly bodies and their mutual, admirable proportions; geographical charts of the earth; different illustrations representing tools and machines, small models, figures of geometry; instruments of mechanical arts, drawn, named, and explained of all these, nothing was left to be desired. There an opportunity was given to make accurate observations of the positions of heavenly bodies and, a more recent development, observations of the spots on the stars, all made known with incredible care and with an acuteness more than human. Here one's eyes could feed, that is, the eyes of the learned; here were illustrations for short cuts in memorizing. Assuredly when I had observed all these things, I gradually came to be less surprised at the wonderful learning of these people, seeing that it had such mechanical assistance. Generally in the world, though all other things are lavishly spent, no assistance (none at least to speak of) is provided for the youth; on the contrary the students are compelled to struggle with difficulties. If perchance some one of them should break through safely, he has little interest as to how he may draw anyone else out. Nay, if there is advantage to himself in so

doing, he blocks the advances of the one struggling to follow, with new dams and new stones. So expenses are made a boast without practical results, arts without instruction, learning without books, charity without a kindly feeling, in short, a drillingground for a good mind with no desirable exercises.

L.I.

the departments of learning.

When I had been conducted from this place to a higher floor, I saw a school, roomy and beautiful beyond expectation, divided into eight lecture halls where the youths, the most valuable asset of the republic, are molded and trained to God, nature, reason, and public safety. For if injunctions are given to individuals to bring up their children excellently, why should they not do the same for the commonwealth that the best method of education and instruction be entered in upon? For this most important of all duties they have furnished this very elaborate place, that they might thus declare their love and care for these, their children of greatest promise, and that they might, as it were, merit future happiness in advance. All this is not after the infamous example of the world. For when the world seems to love her children most of all, she often shuts them up in some out of the way, unhealthy, and even dirty prison, where they are brought into contact with filth and become accustomed to such jails. Here all is open, sunny, and happy, so that with the sight of pictures, even, they attract the children, fashion the minds of the boys and girls, and advise the youths. They are not baked in summer nor frozen in winter; they are not disturbed by noise nor frightened because of loneliness. Whatever is elsewhere given over to luxury and leisure of palaces, is here devoted to honorable recreation and pursuits, an investment that is nowhere more satisfactory or better paying. For even as the earth when well cultivated returns with interest what has been intrusted to it, so youth when steeped in the lifeblood of the republic and impelled to a joyous harvest, pays back everything with usury. This is the summit of happiness, to be able with one and the same effort to preserve the safety of the republic and the adjustment of the future life, so that the children which we bear here, we may find to our satisfaction have been born for the heavens as much as for the earth.

L.II.

THE TEACHERS.

Their instructors are not men from the dregs of human society nor such as are useless for other occupations, but the choice of all the citizens, persons whose standing in the republic is known and who very often have access to the highest positions in the state. For surely, no one can properly take care of the youth, unless he is also able to discharge the duties of state; and he who succeeds with the youth, has thereby already established his right to serve in governmental affairs. The teachers are well advanced in years, and they are especially remarkable for their pursuit of four virtues: dignity, integrity, activity, and generosity. For if they are not successful with their scholars and disciples and are not highly valued by the public; if they do not excel others in reverence toward God, uprightness toward their neighbor, and in firmness and moderation in their own lives, and are not an example in virtue; if they do not give evidence of skill, wisdom, and the highest power of judgment for instruction and education, as well as a recognition of crises in the natures of their pupils; if they do not prefer to spur their charges on as free agents with kindness, courteous treatment, and a liberal discipline rather than with threats, blows, and like sternness; if these are not their ideals as instructors, then the citizens of Christianopolis do not deem them worthy of organizing this miniature republic, the successor of the greater, nor of being intrusted with the very substance of their future safety. As they succeed so well in keeping up a condition at all times resembling a state government, they can with good grace warn others, not lightly to expose the very valuable, supple, and active youth to the vilest, most vicious, insipid, and coarsest men, merely because such may be had more cheaply. Under such care children are brought up to waste their parents' goods, not by measures but by whole bins; and perhaps later on they in turn leave behind them children even worse than themselves.

LIII.

THE PUPILS.

Now it will be well to mention who the pupils are and of what sort. All the children of citizens in general, children of both sexes, are taken into training. When they have completed their sixth year, the parents give them over to the state, not without prayers and pious vows. The pupils are divided into three classes: the children, the youth, and the mature. Here they eat and sleep, and receive mental and physical training. The more numerous their offspring, the happier the parents are, for they then lack nothing; from this one fact it can be seen how unrestrictedly the citizens live. No parent gives closer or more careful attention to his children than is given here, for the most upright preceptors, men as well as women, are placed over them. Moreover, they can visit their children, even unseen by them, as often as they have leisure. As this is an institution for the public good, it is managed very agreeably as a common charge for all the citizens. They see to it carefully that the food is appetizing and wholesome, that the couches and beds are clean and comfortable, and that the clothes and attire of the whole body are clean. The pupils wash often and use linen towels for drying. The hair is also combed to prevent anything unclean from collecting. If diseases of the skin or body are contracted, the individuals in question are cared for in good time; and to avoid the spreading of the infection, they are quarantined. They do these things as diligently as the world attends to its duties neglectfully. For there is no need of my mentioning here the dirtiness of the schools, the uncleanness of food and beds, and the rudeness of those in charge toward the scholars; inasmuch as those who have suffered these indignities bear witness not so much with cries and complaints, as with bodies feeble throughout all life, for this very reason.

LIV.

THE nature of instruction.

Their first and highest exertion is to worship God with a pure and faithful soul; the second, to strive toward the best and most chaste morals; the third, to cultivate the mental powers an order, reversed by the world, if any thought of God still remains among the inhabitants of the latter. Moreover, they feel themselves dedicated to God, by the law of their birth into this world, as well as by the agency of their parents. They begin their study not with some absurd deposition, that is, some prelude of foolishness, but with earnest prayers. From this they proceed through the fixed stages of those beginning, those advancing, and those who have completed the course, with high-sounding titles, it is true; but they unlearn these easily on growing more mature. The titles are a great incentive to the degrees, as a noble mind is raised by praise while it is stimulated by a slight disgrace. There is need of strict uprightness on the part of those who give the titles, lest while they are thus playing, they should haply trifle with the youth. This is where much wrong is done in other places, and all the more so because it is not without gain and loss. For to accept pay and to sell the ignorant to the state, is certainly not just. Punishments are inflicted with fasting and work; if there is need, with whipping; in extreme cases, though rarely, by imprisonment. The young men have their study periods in the morning, the girls in the afternoon; and matrons as well as learned men are their instructors. I do not know why this sex, which is naturally no less teachable, is elsewhere excluded from literature. The rest of their time is devoted to manual training and domestic art and science, as each one's occupation is assigned according to his natural inclination. When they have vacant time, they are permitted to engage in honorable physical exercises either in the open spaces of the town or in the field. Here they may contest in running or wrestling, they may play ball, or even exercise with weapons; or, if they are old enough, they may break horses. You will approve of all these, if you do not forget that moderation and careful supervision are required in everything.

LV.

GRAMMAR, THE FIRST DEPARTMENT.

Now we will examine the schools of the arts, they being also divided into three sections in accordance with the age of the pupils. The first is the school of grammar and languages. There, after the requirements of devotion, prayer, and singing have been satisfied, and sacred as well as other wise sayings that tend toward virtue have been spoken, the work of the boys consists in learning to name all sorts of things and actions in the three languages, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin; in being able to repeat them in classes, inflecting them in the comparisons, cases, tenses, proper persons, and numbers; finally in joining them and defining them with modifiers. Here they see to it that what they read, they actually understand, and what they do not understand, they translate into their native tongue. What audacity it is to teach a boy anything at all comprehensive in Latin, when he does not know what you wish or what he is expected to do; with the same effort and profit you might improve his memory in some other foreign language! And how inconsiderate it is to expect any translations into Latin from the mother tongue before the boy knows what Latin is! They are careful too, that they may not overload delicate, fragile natures with too great a variety or amount of studies, as it is but too certain that immature keenness of mind can be most easily dulled in this way so that the mind will be permanently unsettled. They are foolish who conceive extravagant hopes out of the precocity of childhood, and even further these hopes, when generally such a condition ends in dullness. They want firmly-rooted natures and they obtain these through liberal recreation; in this way the memory is strengthened, power of judgment is drawn forth, individual frankness is fostered, and work is gradually adapted to the talents.

LVI.  
ORATORY.

The more mature students are taught oratory in this same school, where they learn to refute all sorts of arguments in accordance with the rules of the art, and to adorn their speeches with little flowers of elegance. Much stress is laid upon natural force, less upon artificial form; and so he who is able to further the former, is the best instructor for the youth in oratory. Without nature, art is something barren and shows more traces of painstaking than of actual talent. So, oftentimes good theorists in oratory are poor speakers, inasmuch as in life they desire to seem broad because of their natural ability. However, if speech is an indication of the thought, it is easily evident why at times language does not flow fluently from the tongue. Yet there are some people, for the most part foolish men, who hope to rise through mere imitation, foolish, for as they destroy their own chances and do not reach others, nothing can be quite as split up, rough, and out of place. The thing needed here is native, inborn sense, and a husbanding of whatever peculiar talent God has granted. For there is no master more perfect in eloquence than He who made the language. An admirable instance of this is found in the Holy Scriptures, which do not merely buffet the ears of men, but penetrate the very heart. In this there is no need of exaggeration or of any other extreme foreign form. If one speaks truthfully, modestly, and heartily, he has outdone Cicero in eloquence. To speak briefly, whatever breathes the spirit, will have tremendous effect; whatever smacks of artificiality will be powerless. He has accomplished much who has acquired a taste for God's style; for what fools consider simpleness is nothing other than wisdom. As soon as the orators of the world have ceased talking, the lifeless sound and the elegant form of the words have already escaped; whereas the soul remains unsatisfied. When divine truth calls to us in oratory, the heart glows, the spirit is stirred, one's whole nature becomes active. They should hear these words who are too much satisfied with themselves, as often as they speak without God, nay, even as they confess, with their gods they who despise Christ to such an extent that they prefer in their speeches any idol, any demon to the holy mysteries of Christianity. Meanwhile they lay claim to all elegance of expression in themselves and are sufficiently talkative if the world demands such; but it is to be feared that the same parties will be speechless before the tribunal of Christ.

LVII.  
the various languages.

Those who are of sufficient age give their attention also to various modern languages; not merely for the sake of knowing more, but that they may be able to communicate with many peoples of the earth the dead as well as the living; and that they may not be compelled to put faith in every supposed scholar. Learning a language is very easy for them, though other people get so confused. For if they do not acquire fluent use of one language in a year, they think they have accomplished nothing; whereas if other people do not devote ten years to the same task they seem greedy of time. They say that nomenclature is most important, and that a little grammatical study is needed in addition. They begin with easy reading related to a subject already known. One would hardly believe what an advantage the study of cognates is in learning a language. Memorizing and repeated use do the rest. I grieved when I recalled with what disputes I was driven to study so that I did not know what I was doing. Here I learned as if in play, a fact I hardly dare mention lest I awaken envy. Yet I must not omit saying that I learned to consider of comparatively small value the study of languages along with that of literature in general; not that we should throw it all overboard, but that we should not value such study beyond its use. For he is not necessarily wise who speaks in this or the other language, but he who speaks with God. If righteousness and honesty are at hand, it matters little in what tongue they are spoken; if they are absent, it is of no advantage whether one goes astray speaking Greek or Latin. Too easily persuaded are they who attribute to the Latin language the power of making them better educated, rather than to the German. But the Latin language must be preserved because it is in itself valuable in a good many ways, and also because it is biting, and unsympathetic with every trivial contradiction. Then it has what may reproach me, a man woefully untaught in its use, intolerant of its civilization, out of sympathy with its fastidiousness, or, as it itself is wont to insist, barbarous.

#### LVIII.

#### LOGIC, THE SECOND DEPARTMENT.

The second school is called that of logic, being named after one of the noblest of arts. Here the boys, when they have already made some progress, learn to apply the instruments of method to every variety of human affairs, to classify whatever is given them, then to form a syllogism that they may see what is necessarily true, what is possible, and where some fallacy of judgment lurks. Here truth has an especial standard by which it may be tested; but as it is rather unpolished, some people from among the proud have applied it carelessly, not to say faithlessly to divine truth. And this is that Helen, for whose sake the Greeks raised such a tumult, and the Trojans perished. She is beautiful, it is true, but she bears herself all too rudely above her surroundings and tramples her equally deserving sisters under foot. One feels like laughing at those who, while they possess this instrument, think they need nothing else, though they lack everything. But they have horns let them use them! No skilled workman boasts of his sun-dial pin or his plumb-line alone, unless there is something of his own work on hand to exhibit. These sophists, when they have proved that man is capable of laughing, that the sun has been obscured, or the equality of two angles of a triangle, sing their own praises as if something had been especially well done; and then they rest leisurely for all time to come. Very differently do those, who provide themselves with all sorts of arts, love to arrange them rationally and in orderly manner, and when there is need, draw them forth one at a time from their several places. This they recognize as the chief good of logic; they do not subject all things to it especially not God. They incite their talented men to recognize what reason has been intrusted to them and to test their own judgment of things lest they find it necessary to seek everything outside of themselves and to bring in the theories from without. For man has within him a great treasure of judging if he prefers to dig it up instead of burying it with mounds and weight of precepts. Yet this is surely the very kernel of all reason, to listen to God obediently who is as far from all falseness and counterfeit as He is always closely joined to the truth. Let us in truth love the true. Let us not seek a reason from Him who is above all reason.

#### LIX.

#### METAPHYSICS.

In this place others hear lectures on metaphysical science, which withdraws from everything concrete, and soars aloft to the first beginnings of creation, a science indeed worthy of a man whose natural bent takes him from earthly things. Here they look at the true, the good, the beautiful, unity, order, and the like, all the more successfully because they have divine light in addition. Where philosophers have groped in darkness, they consult the divine sun and ascend to the known God, who was unknown to the pagans. Moreover it would be surprising if a man who has traveled mentally so far that he can differentiate between elements and things, should return so basely to his own body and should wallow with it -in all sorts of filth; or that one who could see the true vision of the good and the beautiful, should be caught and deceived so easily by the false, the evil, and the misshapen. It appears, however, that a slippery place is found wherever man goes out of himself and that he falls staggering. And so, he would stand most firmly grounded in one true and good God, who would deliver to Him a soul stripped of the garments of the flesh. Such a one shall hear things that cannot be related, and he shall behold the universe, as it was created in the original perfection, in a sky, not darkened nor yet overcolored but clear as crystal. So with the greatest delight on his own part, and with no little admiration of others, he will understand the first lines of art and the first points of things. This true beauty, while it is unknown to many, produces in them a nausea for this world and leaves the body itself unattractive because of a number of imperfections and the heaviest burdens of the earth. Thus, persistently and eagerly the citizens of Christianopolis are in this hall that they may acquire the ability to leave themselves and learn to withdraw from earthly matters. By this means they find themselves again, and receive far nobler qualities with interest.

LX.  
theosophy.

This same hall serves also for the study of something still higher, and this is theosophy, a science which does not recognize any human invention or research, but which owes its whole existence to God. Where nature ends, this begins; and, taught by the highest divinity, it preserves its sacred mysteries religiously. Few men, even among the most faithful, may embrace theosophy, for it is only God who can work benefits, with His light or with the cross. God reveals Himself in a moment; He keeps Himself long within His shrines; He is always the best, though rarely seen; yet His infinite works have been revealed and in them every true Christian may rejoice. We are without foresight who prefer Aristotle, who value this insignificant little man and not the wonderful works of God, which put him to shame. He never could nor did he wish to believe the fiat of God, the service of the angels, the spirit of fire, the density of water, the pressure of the atmosphere, the raising up of the earth, the immortality of man, the voice of the dumb animal, the inertia of the sun, the bounds of the earth; yet these are all established facts with us. If we would but give ear to God, far greater wonders than these have been set forth at His throne. Why should we not listen to Him, when His very smallest single act deserves all faith with us, and is invincible? If we believe one miracle, we must accept all which He offers us; for how can we distinguish between the works of Omnipotence? So this school is one of humility and obedience, where young minds learn to submit to the words of God and in His secrets rather to apply a devout silence than unseemly inquisitiveness. Let philosophy worry as it will; theosophy rests easily. Let her contradict, theosophy will give thanks. When the other hesitates, this one sits securely at the feet of Christ. Happy is the man who rises at the first call of God; happier he who follows; and happiest who never once looks back, but continually presses on. This is the chief thing in the prayers and desires of a holy man: if God is pleased, it is well; if He wishes us exercised and crushed because of the weakness of our flesh, God's will be done.

LXI.  
ARITHMETIC, THE THIRD DEPARTMENT.

The third hall is named for arithmetic, the very home of all subtleness. He who is One and Three

has endowed this with infinite riches. If you consider human need there is no branch of knowledge to which this does not bear some help of first importance. If you consider the undertakings of man's mind, you will discover that man struggles almost with infinity, in this one direction, and worms his way far into the secrets of progression. I am disposed to say that a man who does not know arithmetic is ignorant of a great deal. Hence, this study is pursued by the inhabitants of Christianopolis with the greatest perseverance, and every day they find in it something to admire, something which sharpens their wits and lessens their labors. In algebra they have no equals, because it calls forth all the powers of man, treats physical units in an entirely unique manner, and solves the most intricate problems with incredible keenness. But they do not forget what an effort it requires to untie the snares set by Satan, when even human skill can involve one so far; what power of computing would be needed to unravel the riddles of the world, what need of examination to explain the impossibilities of the flesh, when so much labor is expended in tracing the principles and sources of an art! Even though they strive after nothing at all more lofty, yet they think that such persons should not be tolerated who, out of pure laziness, deprive themselves of a convenience in computing and so variously applicable a short method in problems. And if they should hear that there are among human beings such as these, who nevertheless boast of their learning, I doubt if they could refrain from giving some offense. For among them it is evident that they do not permit their citizens to be ignorant of all these arts and yet strut about as office-holders. If among people of the other type it shall begin to be proper to have real knowledge, and this knowledge be applied to doing things, zealous talent, I imagine, will not be wanting to many, nor will fortune desert them. Meanwhile we will regard those as generous who, though they do not actually favor the arts, at least do not persecute them with extreme hatred.

LXIL  
GEOMETRY.

The next in order are those who study geometry, the own sister of arithmetic, a science which expresses in lines what arithmetic does in numbers. Hence it adapts itself especially to human wants and applies the deepest propositions and theorems to practical matters with admirable diligence. For geometry measures not only the dimensions which are near at hand, as the top or the bottom, nor merely regular shapes, but all figures besides. It passes through them, changes, balances, transfers, raises, and plays a most elegant part in all human labors. If one desires theoretical research, nothing is more subtle; if one desires to apply practical problems, nothing is more convenient or rapid. If you intrust to it any talent, the same is returned nimble and applicable to anything. Hence, the inhabitants of Christianopolis set much store by it, since they see that there's no art which is not rendered easier by it, and that man becomes more expert for taking up such arts. Among the thoughtless this art becomes worthless even as all the rest of mathematics. It is very evident, however, that they pay the penalty for it, in that they have to exert themselves more in their labors, and even watch other people's short cuts with tearful eyes. Why should it be surprising that geometry is neglected when intrigue, avarice, gluttony, vice, and wrath, yea even stupidity and rashness, have no measure and will tolerate none? The citizens of Christianopolis, while they measure various things, first of all make an especial effort to measure and weigh themselves, then also to value the goodness of God. For it is not of so much importance for us to know the acreage of our little fields, as the meagerness of our little bodies, the narrowness of the grave, and the comparative insignificance of the whole earth. In this way the vanity of our brain will most easily contract, and the swelling of our heart will subside. This will help render man forgetful of himself, patient in misfortune, appreciative of God, and mindful of future death that we may prefer to grow in value, rather than that we be brought from our former state of little value, to nothing by an angry God.

LXIII.  
MYSTIC NUMBERS.

Those who are older rise even higher. God has His numbers and measures, and it is fitting that man should regard them. Surely that supreme Architect did not make this mighty mechanism haphazard, but He completed it most wisely by measures, numbers, and proportions, and He added to it the element of time, distinguished by a wonderful harmony. His mysteries has He placed especially in His workshops and typical buildings, that with the key of David we may reveal the length, breadth, and depth of divinity, find and note down the Messiah present in all things, who unites all in a wonderful harmony and conducts all wisely and powerfully, and that we may take our delight in adoring the name of Jesus. Moreover, these matters are not understood through any human skill, but rest upon revelation and are communicated to the faithful and from one to the other. Therefore they walk into a veritable labyrinth whosoever borrow poles and compasses from human philosophy with which to measure the New Jerusalem, figure out its<sup>^</sup> registers and sacred computation, or fortify it against the enemy. Let it be sufficient for us that Christ has made plain to us all the means which strive to improve and support life; let us all be careful not to approach too hastily everything that glistens, unless the figure of Christ is evident and beckons us into the hidden inner parts. This over-confidence has deceived some of the greatest men, and all the more contrary to expectation, because it seemed to them that they were not speaking without inspiration. In this cabala it is advisable to be rather circumspect, since we have considerable difficulty in present matters, grope in events of the past, and since God has reserved the future for Himself, revealing it to a very limited number of individuals and then only at the greatest intervals. Let us then love the secrets of God which are made plain to us and let us not, with the rabble, throw away that which is above us nor consider divine things on an equal basis with human; since God is good in all things, but in His own, even admirable.

#### LXIV.

#### MUSIC, THE FOURTH DEPARTMENT.

The fourth school is spoken of as that of music, and one cannot enter it unless one has had arithmetic and geometry; for it depends to a considerable extent upon measure and number. Here again man has given a specimen of his excellence, inasmuch as he multiplies three tones with limitless variety; so that he excels not only in language but even in the cries of animals and in the songs of birds. "<sup>^</sup>He even vies with heaven, where there is always melody. It can never be computed what trivial things man turns to the highest uses. With very few letters he speaks so many tens of thousands of words; with very few tones he produces an infinite symphony. Yet the world has not been able to keep from abusing the legitimate joy of heaven with the evil of Satan, and subjecting it to deceit. So it comes that we have the madness of dancing, the frivolity of vulgar songs, the wickedness of roisterers. All of these things have been long ago driven out of this republic and are now unheard. They like that sort of music which has a prophetic spirit, a whole-souled harmony resounding to the heavens. Whatever the saints have composed, whether it be of a joyful, lamenting, commanding, or beseeching nature, this is the material for their music: and daily outbursts of the spirit increase the supply. Here sacred poetry lends its / assistance, yet not the sort which sings of Venus and Bacchus. Moreover, they have an exact distribution of voices according to age and sex, so that when they meet in public the tones of all of them can sound forth in harmonious concert. Nothing can be compared with the majesty of this music; for when the favor of the Holy Spirit, the success of the composition, impressiveness of the words, and the force of harmonious volume unite, the greatest charm must result. And they have this advantage too, that the chief points of the Christian religion, examples of an upright life, the most memorable of the deeds of God, are included in their songs and they receive them into their souls by this agreeable medium. More prudent are they than those of the world, who, when among the blandishments of the flesh they have hummed their indecent and foolish songs long enough, are finally compelled amid the stings of death and pricks of conscience to roar something sadder.

#### LXV.

#### MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.

In the theater of mathematics there is also a place for musical instruments, yet here likewise they are employed in great number and variety. You would have difficulty finding anyone who is not skilled in their use, though each one has the liberty to choose which he is partial to, the lute, the violin, harp, or wind instrument; or the combination of all, as it were, the organ, of which they have very elegant specimens. They are in the habit of recommending to their students very accurate technique, that they may foster promptness toward public affairs, and especially readiness and adaptability of the whole body toward God. For they very frequently admonish them that they should be toward their Creator and their neighbor what the hand which moves, raises, and lowers the fingers according to an inner impulse and outer marks is to music. This might well be mentioned to those who are on all sides subjected to the rules and requirements of an art, but do not care to listen to God who would attune them to His instruments and offer them, what they call a tabulatura, of the duty they owe Him. Hence these discords in the various ranks of life, the confusion of human works and ceremonies, and the neglect of divine law sounds which can never be pleasing to God, but must be ever objectionable. It would be better if they would render the laborious services, which they so readily offer the world, to God who is in no manner so severe or harsh but who is more anxious to preserve and care for His instruments, however fragile they be, than the world is desirous of breaking and casting aside her strongest tools.

LXVI.  
the chorus.

That they may contribute to public worship as much as possible, they make use of solemn music also. This they do by means of a chorus which passes through the city once every week, in addition to the holidays. All in the school march two by two, men on the one side, girls on the other; and in proper order they traverse the streets of the city, sending up a hymn to God, as much with the voice as with different kinds of instruments. They are arranged according to age in such a way that the voices are well distributed and the less experienced are reinforced by the more mature. When I was there the one hundred and twentyseventh Psalm was sung, in which the care of the state was intrusted to God. I have never heard more volume or better harmony anywhere, than when they walked with easy step under the arched porticoes. My eyes and ears were thoroughly delighted, and I wished that I might always be able to be present during this sacred service of praise. They do this in imitation of the angelic choir concerning whose songs God Himself bears witness. Since they consider the service, protection, warnings, and instruction of these very highly, and are anxious to have them as near as possible to themselves, they hope, and not without reason, that the heavenly chorus may be singing along in the same measure with them. Who would not believe that these pure souls take more delight in such a public, spiritual joy than they would in the noise of a city confused with the power of the world! Or who would doubt that they offer more to souls raised aloft with a pure joy toward God, than to those sad and worn out under the torture of vanity! They say (and I believe it) that they never return from one of these choral processions except with spirits strengthened and anointed, as it were, with divine breath; that they never feel the guardianship of the angels more closely at hand and remarkably than when their hearts are bubbling over with a complete joy in God. They say that in this way God is praised, the soul is enlivened, the flesh is put aside, the world avoided, and Satan put to flight. But what about the world? While she is playing the fool, snoring, and wasting her oil, the Heavenly Bridegroom has entered and has tightly closed the door behind Him.

LXVII.  
ASTRONOMY, THE FIFTH DEPARTMENT.

Astronomy lays claim to the fifth school, and it is as deserving of humankind as any other art. For with incredible diligence it shows us the movements and gentle rotations of the heavens, the orbits and positions of planets, the location of the constellations, their arrangements and differences, then also the number and size of the visible stars and their relations to each other, almost gives entrance into the very sky, and renders the same, as it were, tributary to this our

own territory. And surely it is worthy being practiced by the kings of the earth, since it seems to command the sky. The inhabitants of Christianopolis set much store by it, nor do they fear falling away by the motion of the earth or being thrown off by unheard of star-dwellers. The honor is sufficient for them, which Christ bestowed upon the earth when He dwelt upon it as a human being. God shall see to the other things. Yet let us examine those now who look at the sky no more observantly than any beast. As far as they are concerned the sun might rise in the west, and but for their calendar they know no time. If these people make any pretensions to knowledge, it is a great disgrace for them to care nothing about what the holy patriarchs studied with the greatest earnestness; whereas if they have no ambition they are to be reproved for keeping on the ground the countenance which was given man to be raised aloft. Every excuse carries with it its disgrace which deprives man of his humanity, or if you please, his divinity. Surely man has not ascended to those highest abodes on his own legs, nor has he observed those most confusing laws without God's guidance. Hence, only the most nobleminded natures have an inclination toward astronomy; the base and earth-born are satisfied to eat acorns and husks.

LXVIII.  
ASTROLOGY.

In this same hall, astrology, valued highly for many reasons, is offered. For whatever the earth owes the sky, and whatever the sky communicates to the earth, they who have experienced both test out. The all-wise Creator has so made his greatest work interdependent, that it governs and yet obeys itself. Hence the governing influence of the stars is noted, with a greater admiration of human thirst for knowledge than for dependability of the results. Experience fosters confidence, theoretical reason creates doubt; between the two, the earth confesses her inferiority to the sky. The effect of the sun and the moon are the more easily recognized. Of the remaining stars, those who practice the art have as many differences of opinion. I could not understand, when they conversed with me on the subject, what the inclinations of the inhabitants of Christianopolis were. At any rate, they subject their thoughts, however hampered by the hindrances of the body, to God and God alone. They say that it is an uncertain thing to make everything dependent on the first moment of existence and birth, and from this moment to accept judgment of life or death. And so they emphasize rather this, as to how they may rule the stars, and by faith shake off the yoke if any exists. Hence they recognize a new sky, other stars and movements, where Christ is the moving factor. Through His mercy they break the power of all ill will, of every thing contrary, weak, or foreign. The most fortunate horoscope is that of adoption into the ranks of sons of God, whose Father, when consulted by prayer, rarely is silent upon anything; when besought rarely refuses anything, so far is it from Him to expose them to wanderings of the stars. The wanderer on the earth realizes this; and in the shadow of God he fears no storms of the sky. Those who have wisdom beyond this, are wise to themselves. Moreover, let us not excuse the stupidity of those who, though they seem to themselves to be in a position to crush everything under their feet and even foolishly scorn the very sky, are men according to the days of the week, now servile, now rebels; to-day admirers, to-morrow scoffers; never fair-minded, always crude. For he who does not know the value of astrology in human affairs, or who foolishly denies it, I would wish that he would have to dig in the earth, cultivate and work the fields, for as long a time as possible, in unfavorable weather.

LXIX.  
THE heaven of the christians.

There is a great difference between man and man, but a far greater difference between a Christian and a man of the world. The man of the world does not serve as many things as the Christian has dominion over. The latter is not only free from all offense of Heaven, but he is even reconciled to the same. Hence he receives his daily gifts from a friend, as God orders all creatures to be kindly disposed toward the Christian. To what extent the heavens favor the Christian, and how he obeys the impulses of faith, are beyond the conception of the non-believers. How singly he is intent only

on the church, no one outside of her knows or comprehends. The sun, the stars, the rainbow, hail, and dew, to mention only a few with how many blessings have they benefited loyal men! The favor of heaven accompanied the church when it wandered as a stranger from the east into the west, and tamed men whom formerly it had kept as barbarians. The favor of heaven teaches us with prophecies and miracles, rebukes wickedness, raises the heads of the pious, and makes them look up with a hope of restoration. With what wonderful harmony heaven assists the history of the earth and benefits the church in its varying fortunes, it is hardly possible to say. Because only a few care for this, it happens that still fewer grasp the prescribed path of the church in these lands, and though they praise religion, they conclude that flourishing times have come to this age by chance. Meantime they themselves do not consider the words of Antichrist, of Mahomet, and of similar false prophets, nor will they tolerate such investigation on the part of others. Yet they see other clouds arise and they exclaim against them; if they would judge as worthily of the signs of the times, as of the appearances in the sky, they would not have to hear " hypocrites " from Christ. The inhabitants of Christianopolis seek first of all a spiritual heaven and are solicitous for it. They love a physical sky the more because they know it always has been and will continue to be propitious to Christians. As they have founded their city under its blessed auspices and on a favorable anniversary, they know that the ill will of heaven will never come upon the city as long as it honors God

LXX.

#### NATURAL SCIENCE, THE SIXTH DEPARTMENT.

The sixth hall has its name from natural philosophy, which I have already suggested in the hall of the same name. How very zealous they are in this field, it is needless to affirm, since the very necessity of the study requires it. For by its help we arrive at a knowledge, general and special, of each world, and examine into the movements, qualities, behaviors, and phenomena of their creatures. By it we discover of what material things are made, what is their form, measure, place, and time; how the heavens move and how they appear, how elements mingle and how they increase, for what purpose living animals and plants exist, of what use metals are, and especially, what the soul, that spark of divinity within us, accomplishes. All these, forsooth, are very beautiful things, and it is below his dignity for man not to know them, after the faithful investigations of so many men. For we have not been sent into this world, even the most splendid theater of God, that as beasts we should merely devour the pastures of the earth; but that we might walk about observing His wonders, distributing His gifts, and valuing His works. For who would believe that the great variety of things, their elegance, advantage, and maturity, and in short, the utility of the earth, had been granted to man for any other reason than for his highest benefit? If anyone believes that all these blessings are due him without gratitude, nay even without consideration on his part, he is basely deceived. It is rather man's duty, now that he has all creatures for his use, to give thanks to God Himself in the place of them all; that is, he should offer to God as much obedience as he observes in His creatures. Then he will never look upon this earth without praise to God or advantage to himself; but with an admonition toward moderate use and exact observation. Blessed are they who use the world and are not used up by it as far as God has generously granted it! He who recognizes Christian liberality will never subject himself to the base servitude of creatures.

LXXI.

#### HISTORY.

History, that is, a rehearsal of the events of human tragedy, accompanies natural science. Words cannot do sufficient justice to the importance of this. Yet scarcely anywhere among mortal men does it appear uncorrupted, so deep are the secrets of the human heart, so generous our rating of ourselves, so bold our critical judgment of others, so subtle the apologies for human errors. The inhabitants of Christianopolis grasp truth very firmly, and they prefer to tell the truth though it bring shame to them, than to tell a lie to their glory. And so they want everything written down

very plainly, and they confess all their doings, even their faults, frankly in order that posterity may know the events of the past without disguise. It is a very sad thing to look back through so many thousands of years upon the tyranny of Satan, the growth of crime, the monstrous deeds of men, the hideousness of wars, the horrors of massacres, the boasting of conceit, the arrogance of wealth, the confusion of ranks, and the secrets of wickedness. All these conditions succeed each other in the world, recur often, and disturb the entire period. How pleasant it is, on the contrary, to contemplate the champions of God, germs of virtue, dignity of the human soul, abundance of peace, restful quiet, confession of one's shortcomings, the fullness of contentment, varieties of gifts, invincible strength of holiness. There are scholars who are bold enough to be unacquainted with such facts and who rank them with fables; they are very worthy themselves to be told of in fable. Meanwhile, it is clearly evident that as many as are ignorant of past events, are likewise of little value in the present and unprepared for the future, however bold and arrogant they may be as to other things. For as the study of human history makes man gentle, humble, and careful, so the ignorance of it keeps him crude toward himself and others, proud, and hasty toward his own and the state's undoing.

LXXII.  
CHURCH HISTORY.

Since the inhabitants of Christianopolis make everything in this world second to the church, they are concerned in its history more than with any other. For as this is the only ark which can contain those to be saved, they prefer to be solicitous about it rather than about the waters of the universal flood. So they relate with what immeasurable goodness of God that insignificant little flock was collected, how it was taken up under His covenant, put in order with laws and fortified with the Word; they tell with what weak instruments it was extended, with what very strong machines it was attacked, with what evident aid it was defended; with how much blood, with what prayers its safety was established, with what a roaring on the part of Satan the banner of the cross triumphed; how readily the tares grow up, how often its light is drawn back into a corner, how many eclipses the light suffered, especially severe and dense under Antichrist; how it emerged oftentimes out of desperate circumstances, and in our own age under the guidance of the great Luther; with what filth and spots it is frequently besmirched, how much trouble it has with the sons of the flesh. Many such points as these, as well as periodical and harmonious changes in the church, they have at hand, and impress them carefully upon the youth that they may learn to trust God, distrust the flesh, scorn the threats of the world, and bear patiently the darkness of this age. This is all very well too, however others may boast of their neglect of ecclesiastical history. For how little the latter is required even in the case of ministers, and how very little, where it is offered, is done in comparison with one or a second syllogism, need not be enlarged upon in this place. This is a trick of Satan who, while he removes from before our eyes the past disputes of the pious, and the scourges of heresy, leaves any possible clouds of the church, in place of the serene and unmistakable light, until we under some delay gradually accustom ourselves to superstition and wickedness. Oh, if men would but stop to look back at the seriousness of our reformation, simony and a false impression of security would not impose upon so many; and oh, that religion would be guarded more seriously which abhors not only the Roman doctrine, but her morals also! Meantime the inhabitants of Christianopolis think very often not so much of the church in the larger sense, but also of their own small one within their hearts, that whatever is done within them for the spirit against the flesh and on behalf of heaven against hell, as often as they are conscious of the divine Presence, they may note it down, that thus they may believe and know that they are the elect and beloved of God.

LXXIII.  
ethics, the seventh department.

The seventh school has ethics as its chief subject, their guide in all human virtues, in prudence, justice, moderation, bravery, and kindred qualities; not only do they wish her to be careful in

precepts and rules, but in very deed, especially shining in daily examples. It is ridiculous to advise others to do what we contradict in our lives. Those who boast of nothing but heaven, should not savor of the earth; those who inculcate justice should do injury to none; those who advocate temperance should not live in extravagance; those who boast of bravery should never be cast down. If there are any who go in advance, those are not lacking who follow, whose examples are very many. Here they give reward for work done; for they drive from the society of good men every item of luck. They say that fortune is purely fictitious and rests upon our own notion; that we seek or shun respectively, what we picture good or bad for ourselves. Since it could be in our power, that conditions be always sufficiently well with us, we accomplish as a result of our own persuasion that we must needs suffer evil and be in want. They say that we will always be in need, as long as we desire what we cannot obtain; that we will always have abundance, as long as we possess only those things of which no one can deprive us. This is altogether true; for no one else is to blame for our unhappiness except ourselves, we who, while we covet individually what is due to all, and while thus keep attacking other people's rights, always have one with whom to quarrel there is always someone who may conquer or suppress us; or if no one actually disturbs us, surely we never satisfy ourselves. And since the citizens of this ideal city understand these facts, they are not willing that their greatest treasure should dwell anywhere except in their own breasts. And because they do not want a purely imaginative treasure they believe and recognize Christ as the one by whose love they are joined together in perfect mutual friendship, by whose perfect truth they are directed, whose perfect courtesy they obtain, by whose perfect generosity they are covered, or, to mention it all in one, by whose humanity they are ennobled. That it may please us to imitate this, or that it may be permitted through those who usually fill the earth with the basest morals and vainest practices, I do with a whole heart pray God, the author, preserver, and rewarder of a moral and well regulated life.

#### LXXIV.

#### THE GOVERNMENT.

More subtle than this is government, which very evidently employs a constructive mind for ruling men and for protecting population. I have already said that they have j preferred government by aristocracy to other forms, because ^ I this approaches more closely to the Christian society. In this they establish three good qualities of man: equality, the desire for peace, and the contempt for riches, as the world is tortured primarily with the opposites of these. They have also put the culture of the soul on a higher plane and have made it known, that anyone may know himself more easily. The chief point with them is that Christians ought to be different from the world round about, in morals as well as in religion, that they ought not be permitted to do everything, though it be right for others; that they ought not tolerate all that others bear. They say that the Gospels require a different government than that of the world, and that the judgment of it lies with the Christian religion. They chide the world for permitting haughtiness among those in high places, immorality among the clergy, dishonesty among office-holders, extravagance among the citizens, deviations from the right by all persons; and only on this one pretext, because they are men. For they say that this merely denotes a lack of serious attempts and a correct constitution of government, since man is really not an untamable animal; afterwards even the very wrestlinggrounds of evils are opened so that it is surprising that even now one can resist. They say that very many practices also, which are evil and harmful, are looked upon as good and praiseworthy; and the criticism of these is not permitted. Excellent laws stand out to the view; but if anyone would urge their enforcement, he would be ridiculed. It did not seem to them, they said, that a government was formed after the model of Christ,, where God was made of less account than men, the soul less, than the body, the body less than riches; where the vices of wealth are not considered a crime; the virtues of poverty not praiseworthy; where the instigator of crime receives a reward; the one corrupted, death; where the soul of a man may be sold for any price.

I could not answer all these arguments, however much I tried. So I referred the matter to the political scientists of our age, who would not portray the world in so many volumes unless they

knew what would be profitable to the affairs 1 of mortals. Yet I have thought that many things are said against the morals of our age not unjustly, which could be; corrected with no greater difficulty than that with which the world maintains her own. We see that our own affairs can be well enough defended from injury, provided we look upon divine things and the holy name of God with some reverence; since some are said to have observed superstitiously, others fanatically; but only the Christians by their own boasting do not blush to enumerate them among impossibilities.

## LXXV.

### CHRISTIAN POVERTY.

It is not sufficient for Christians to be good according to the teachings of ethics and government, but they choose as their model Christ Himself, a far higher Master. As He is the most perfect embodiment of the highest virtues, He deserves to have imitators. Moreover these virtues go beyond human excellencies and are included under the symbols of the cross; and those, who have devoted themselves closer to man, have called these Christian poverty, by which we renounce even the things that are permitted the world, that we may possess only Christ. Those who join this group unlearn, leave, and bear everything. They prefer simplicity to intelligence, ignorance to knowledge, silence to eloquence, humility to dignity, credulity to shrewdness, want to abundance, studying to teaching, bearing to doing; and whatsoever things are considered lowly on earth, provided they are harmless, these they desire. Do not believe that these are Roman Minorites, 1 sly and grasping of all that is greatest on this earth; nor yet hypocritical saints of their own understanding and secret pride. It is a happy race of men, and skilled in whatsoever they do on earth. Whatever they have of the gifts of God, they divide in common, reserving almost nothing for themselves. They are not irritated by being offended, nor puffed up by fame; they are not elated by abundance, nor yet depressed by poverty; they do not admire hair-splitting arguments, they do not consider the most insignificant things below their notice; they are not worried by the threats of the age, they are not caught by report of things of the present; they are not disturbed by noise, nor are their wits sharpened by separation from others; they are not afflicted in life nor terrified by death. There are only a very few of these, nor could they easily be other than such as already have penetrated through all things, to whom already human affairs and human knowledge are apparent, to whom after the wanderings on the earth the only thing in their wishes is the certainty of heaven. No one is more voluntarily foolish, none more surely ignorant, none more easily in want, no one more readily serves, than those who, respectively, are experienced in controlling the slipperiness of wisdom, the windings of knowledge, the burdens of possessions, the risks of dangers. Hence those who are accustomed to laugh at and criticise such people, only bear witness by that very fact that they have no taste for human affairs, but wallow about in the very mire out of which they arose by the grace of God.

## LXXVI.

### THEOLOGY, THE EIGHTH DEPARTMENT.

Now the eighth school is left, which is devoted to theology, the queen of all that human beings possess, and the mistress of philosophy. This, first of all, teaches the mode of expression of the Holy Ghost in the Holy Scriptures; their strength, elegance, efficacy, and depth, that the students may know what is meant by this or that diction and this or that combination of words; and that they may learn to admire this sort of language more than all the eloquence of this earth. Then they are urged toward a devout imitation of this divine speech that, when they shall have collected for themselves from their boyhood days a mighty treasure of holy thoughts, they may know how to adapt them also to the needs of mortals, and may learn to speak to others with the same spirit, the same words with which the apostles of Christ preached the Gospel to the people. Thirdly, they arm them with the arguments and the firmness of the unconquered Word so that, when they are attacked by heresies or when the father of false argument, Satan himself, battles against them, they may understand how to defend the sincerity of truth borrowed from the source of truth, and that they may learn how to preserve the clear founts of Israel in every time and place from the

contamination of earthly mire or human theorizing. This they call scholastic theology, which teaches them to know, imitate, and defend the words of Holy Writ; and in this they train their students so as to remind them that these matters do not of themselves actually accomplish anything in Christianity, but that they do tend toward preparing one for accomplishing something. Moreover, they avoid the names of sects especially, nor do they at all willingly pronounce them; and though they love to hear the name of Lutheran, yet they strive first of all to be Christians. From which I gather that they do not agree with those who, though they admit any translation as safe, and go securely to sleep with the same, are not very much concerned whether the Holy Spirit has said this or something else. Next, that they do not restrict all theology to the experience of addressing an audience, since it may occur that a man, as wicked as he is ignorant, will speak forth to the people borrowed words even though they be holy. On the other hand they do not admire those by whom all theology is converted into daggers, swords, and bows, and who admit no worship of God except it be of a disputatious or contentious nature. Finally I gather, that they do not permit every harmless difference of opinion to generate factions and hate, but teach their pupils in such a way that, as often as there is need, they may be able to form opinions on versions of the Scriptures, address assemblies, defend the truth, avoid schisms, and what is perhaps more fortunate and surely more moderate, that they may prefer to be engaged in the adjusting of a Christian life on the ground that Christ prefers holy men to scholars, obedient ones to logicians; because the very arts of the soul accomplish less in the last oppositions of death than does the strength of conscience, purified by the blood of Christ.

## LXXVII.

### PRACTICE OF THEOLOGY.

Thence they gird themselves with a great devotion for practical theology. This teaches them to pray, to meditate, and to stand trial. This is the wisdom which impresses the Holy Scriptures upon us and carries them over into our lives, that we may make known the mysteries of God. Here not merely the approval of the Divine Word is required, but its unanimity and harmony. For as Christ is the sum total of all secrets, so the regeneration in us is the beginning of a new childhood, youth, and even maturity, and urges upon us that which is in agreement not with Adam, but with Christ, our Book of Life. Those who establish their theology according to artificial rules do not comprehend this. For there is need of a biting and bitter acid, taken internally, to tear down the inner structures and break them to pieces. Unless we cease, Christ will not begin; unless we are silent, God will not speak; unless we accept it passively, the Spirit will not be active. This is that sabbath for the sake of which all the pious on earth, throughout all ages, have been ridiculed. Such is the madness of the saints of Christ that they not only believe in Christ crucified, but even are willing to be crucified themselves. Such is the foolishness of the Gospel of Paul to glory in nothing except his own weakness. Here is usually a greater danger from Satan, who, being always evil, is here at his very worst, in that he creeps into man so stealthily that the latter is no longer God's. Hence the evidences of fury, sleeplessness, delirium, and other mockery of a soul not inspired of God but proceeding from itself. So the citizens of Christianopolis are accustomed to advise their own people and others seriously to ask nothing, to attempt nothing for themselves beyond Christian simplicity, without the advice of God. For we cannot all be snatched into the third heaven as was Paul; yet we can with him become fashioned like Christ. If we obey the Gospels, if we obey the apostles, this will meet the requirements of true theology, and we will be in no want of revelation or of preaching of angels in any other form. And even as genuine theology does not consider those coarse and sensuous Christians, so also it does not recognize those who are so extremely precise and those who are drawn out into the realm of the purely mental. The best moderation of the cross is that which according to the balance of Christ places a fitting weight upon all the children of God, and trains them individually in such a way that they may have a reason for asking aid of God.

## LXXVIII.

### PROPHECIES.

If now our very kind Father shall favor one man somewhat beyond others, they do not unceremoniously reject the fact but test the prophesying spirits. So they have a school of prophecy, not at all that they would give instruction in the virtue of soothsaying which deceives so many, but as a place where they might observe the harmony and truth of the prophetic spirit. And as this cannot be done without divine suggestion, they confer on the matter in the fear of the Master to see whether any unusual portion of light may have been bestowed upon anyone. For rarely has anyone who can adjust all types of the Scriptures according to their differences, who can draw forth prophecies out of their most private shrines, who can reconcile the ceremonies of Moses with those of Christ, who can grasp the arguments of the apostles and even Christ, drawn forth from the Old Testament, or accomplish other things like these, under so many interpreters, rarely has such a one established any faith at all with them. In truth many have caused them doubt as to whether one or another may not have given out judgment too indiscreetly. And so they confess that as far as concerns the forecasting of future events or the interpretation of past, they do not comprehend as yet the oracles of the Holy Spirit, yet none the less they are content in the divine revelation in which eternal salvation rests. Moreover they beseech God that He may be willing in His great indulgence, to make known to His children somewhat of the profound wisdom that lies hidden in the depths of His Word, and to reveal His Son to them in every sacred page. How much they accomplish by this pious prayer, they did not tell me.

Now I have in my uncouth style hastened through the points that were shown me in the Christian schools, and I trust I may not have injured the facts because of my poor writing and perhaps even my forgetfulness. I would hope that some of the facts, though not all and even if only a very few, may please my pious and Christian reader or even give him courage to visit Christianopolis and get surer and more detailed information than I have given. If he will communicate them with the same frankness and freedom as I have done, he will deserve the greatest thanks from those in truth for whom this shall have been so seasonably done; but especially the greatest gratitude from me for assisting and correcting my work.

#### LXXIX.

#### MEDICINE.

Four rooms are left on this floor which also I was given an opportunity to inspect, two assigned to the study of medicine, two to jurisprudence. I will speak of the former first, however much may be due the other. No one will easily explain the subtlety, method, and reasonableness of the science of medicine. It must be confessed that it is a remarkable gift of God, given over to human dexterity and observation. We say nothing further about it here because it has been very highly praised in the chapters on physics, chemistry, anatomy, and pharmacy, on which it is mainly based. Yet the science has its separate seat here where it examines into diseases and prepares remedies; and where also it gives instruction in case anything outside of the regular schools comes up. Of course each sensible man provides for his own body in such a way that he may live adequately for his daily duties, rather than be slow and dull in spirit. Hence the physicians very often prescribe temperance and exercise for their citizens, as being the safest precautions for health. In the other room surgery is practiced which offers advice and practical assistance for the human body. We human beings are so wretched that we have to be salved, scraped, burned, cut, torn, and emptied, and there is not a single little part of the body which is at all safe from innumerable dangers. So there is need of all sorts of activity and various instruments that these disadvantages may be met and the defects repaired. Moreover it is an excellent thing among all these afflictions of the human body to be mindful of our imperfections or rather the penalties for them, and to lay aside the crests of our vanity the more readily; and then to hasten to that Physician for whom it is very easy not only to heal the sick parts and to restore what has been removed, but to revive the dead and to collect those that have been scattered into the finest dust. Moreover we will respect medicine, not so much because it offers us an unusually long life or sets itself against death, but because our excellent Creator has wished that through His creatures and their use, benefit should

be brought to us.

LXXX.

JURISPRUDENCE.

With all respect to the lawyers I must say there is no need of them at all among our Christianopolis friends. For as they live by their own laws and are bound to no other law except for a yearly tribute, they do not wish to be bothered by foreign rescripts, codes, pandects, or other legal digests, in canon, indulgence, or extravagance. Here there is nothing that may not be easily explained, nothing more noticeable than justice, and no one enters into legal dispute with another. Hence suits and those who carry them on all amount to nothing. It is an easy matter to settle quarrels and disputes, and there is no need of a *corpus juris*. So they think they have avoided many traps and snares, and especially dangers to the soul with unrest of the body. If they especially minded loss of goods, they would bear this even less. For it is always true that technical law always takes, draws, rubs off, or abjures; presses, beats, hammers, strikes, twists, or shakes out; abducts, purloins, robs, embezzles, sweeps, or carries away something if a person prefers to live by strife rather than tranquillity. However, these methods are to be attributed rather to politicians than to the better scholars of the law. And so the lawyers have a school here also, though it is honorary rather than necessary. Yet that they may not be idle, they serve the political government, and they interpret the Roman laws, which are full of equity and honesty. I noticed about the same situation in the room of the notary; he seemed to be present to fill a place, and did not accomplish anything of great moment in this republic. Yet if anything is to be copied, it is intrusted to these men. And to the art of writing as to a summary of the most valuable invention has been given this honor that it also may have its name in the catalogue of the arts. Some people say also there is some meaning in the forms of the letters as there is in numbers, coming forth out of order and value. The citizens of Christianopolis do not insist upon this; they delight rather in tendering their hearts to God that He may write down with His finger what things will add to the security of the present or the future life. Such is their sacred incantation, such their art of divination, this the sum of their mystic literature, of which they are all the more desirous, as it is more certain.

LXXXI.

the dwellings of the youth.

The two stories that remain are reserved for bathrooms and dormitory purposes, two sides being given over to the boys and the third to the girls. For since they want this sex also liberally educated, they take particular care that those men who are placed over the youth have such wives as can teach the young women and the girls. The arrangement of the rooms will be plain from the accompanying sketch. This one fact should yet be mentioned, namely, that the boys are so associated with those who are grown up, and the adults so observed by the married men, and the inspection is so carefully carried out all around, that, to the utmost possible extent, moral corruption of the youth is avoided. And as such can happen so rarely under a system of training which has kept up its innocence during a long series of years, it is to be valued above every happiness, especially when we remember what perversion, corruption, and offense of the youth there is elsewhere in schools and public educational institutions. Everyone carries with him / domestic, rustic, or even paternal and inborn evil and wickedness, and communicates these to his comrades, with so poisonous a contagion that it spares not even those who ought to be consecrated entirely to God, but winds its way with varying wickedness, deceit, and rudeness, and takes possession of them so entirely that they cannot throw it off throughout their whole lives, and among the most honorable offices; and this is done with lamentable pollution of the innocent, since the plague of one individual spreads to many, and as individuals contribute one is affected. So that now parents have to fear almost nowhere more than where they persuade themselves their children are being most plainly educated toward God. And right here there is especial need of very eager prayers that they may commend their dear ones very carefully to divine custody, whose

sole care it is through the angels' guardian power to avert from them those impure and pestiferous lips, to stop their ears, and to strengthen their hearts toward the love of modesty and abhorrence of impurity.

LXXXIL  
the temple.

And finally the temple, which is in the middle of the place, was shown me, a work of royal magnificence in which expense and talent vied with each other. This should not be criticised, however, since no one in the republic is in want. The form of the temple is round, its circumference being three hundred and sixteen feet and the height seventy. In the one half where the gatherings take place, seats are cut and excavated from the earth that the structure may ascend less, and that the ears of all may be equally distant on all sides from the voice of the speaker. The other half is reserved for distribution of the sacraments and for music. The senators have a separate place there with the councilmen, not at all far from the speaker's platform, as I have shown in the sketch. But also the sacred comedies, by which they set so much store, and are entertained every three months, are shown here in the temple, in order that the history of divine things may cling the more firmly in the minds of the youth, and that their own talents may be rendered the more skillful and ready in handling such things. I could not sufficiently admire their artistic skill in these matters, as I myself saw the Jeremias of Naogeorgus played before the people. The surrounding wall of the temple is full of windows so that it admits light all around. The other parts of the walls are elegantly resplendent with sacred pictures or representations from biblical history. I saw no image except that of the crucified Christ and it was skillfully designed with a view toward moving even the hardest heart. The rest of the adornments I cannot easily describe unless I wished this done in detail. Suffice to say I could not enough admire the art and beauty, especially when I recalled those who, under the pretext of religion, despoil the churches, and when the desolation of the temples has been effected, do not nevertheless forget to provide for their own domestic luxury. Of a surety they are evangelical Christians with consciences to whom it seems a sin if the gifts of ancient simplicity offend the people anywhere else than in their homes! Oh, the religious reformers who, in order to empty the shrines, have offered their own homes for useless and boastful pomp! Those who forbid the decorating of the temples of God, or who are as tenacious in this matter as they are prodigal in others, might find something here to learn. However, it is not my business here to teach what I think right, but to rehearse what I saw.

LXXXIII.  
VOCATION.

As many as have been consecrated to the church regard nothing before or above their calling. This is their confidence, this their shield, and this their crown. The parents wish for and seek in earnest prayer, though they do not buy nor obtain the result through custom, that sometime they may produce in their family interpreters or ministers of God, since they realize that this is the summit of human dignity. So whenever especial gifts of God, and, as it were, intimate acquaintance with the Holy Spirit, become apparent; when a life is permeated, as it were, with heavenly thoughts; when there is even a secret harmony of prayers in favor of one individual, then there arrives at the same time the heavenly and Christian message of a call which corresponds to an inward impulse of the heart and encourages them with a confidence in their spiritual duty. And when public and stated prayers are added to that, and the laying on of hands, they say that divine grace very noticeably appears and that a man, already good before, becomes even better. Hence the calling is valued among the people and is considered effectual; while by the preacher it is a mark of heavenly favor that he has entered into a sacred covenant with God that he might be assisted and taught by Him; that he himself be silent upon nothing which is true or wholesome, nor add anything of human invention, and that he render up life and blood if necessary for the congregation of God; at the same time also that he renounce earthly immunities and express

indeed the will of the good spirit. Blessed indeed is that church whose ministers are not dedicated to the ministry for support, condemned to it because of their dull natures, admitted because of some little learning, pushed into it on account of the generosity of their parents, raised to it by the price of blood, promoted because of the agreement of curiosity, merely to find out how much they can accomplish for or against souls! Blessed indeed is that church whose ministers determine their honor by the Word of God, their wealth by the increase of the church, their scholarship by the discomfiture of the Devil, their enjoyment by the putting aside of the flesh, their fame by the testimony of the poor, their purpose by the wreath of faith! Happy indeed is that church in which God calls, man obeys, the angel assists, the government agrees, the people give ear, and the youth *pfrnw ii^i* But alas to those who have transformed and debased into a certain frivolity and carelessness of vocation, the solicitude and bravery of their elders, by which they, called of God, fearing for their souls, have freed their necks from the deceptions of Antichrist.

#### LXXXIV. SERVICES.

Of their sermons which are delivered in the temple, we have already spoken. The presbyter and the diaconus give them; the former explains the Holy Scriptures, the latter the chief principles of religion. There are others subordinate to these who succeed them after death; for it is not permitted here to look longingly at the dead. The service is begun and ended with prayers and sacred psalmody. I saw nothing foreign to our so-called Augsburg Confession; for they disapprove our morals, not our religion. When they pray or hear the Word of God, they fall down on their knees and raise their hands; they even beat their breasts, that they may awaken their souls. To do nonsense in the temple, or to fall asleep, they consider a sin. Though there are daily readings out of the works of holy and devout learned men, none the less they attend in large numbers. For whatever attention is given religion, this they consider the highest occupation. And if half the time of their lives is devoted to this, they still think it is too little. I was surprised at the behavior of these men when I noticed them jumping for joy at times, and often dissolving in tears; for they cannot rehearse either the goodness of Christ or the misdeeds of men without emotion. The events of the life of Christ are so distributed throughout the year that the individual, remarkable acts may have a memorial, and to these times they adapt their festivals, which however are not puffed up by affectation or fancy. In their ceremonies they are not spectacular, for they wish rather to improve than to astonish men. The dress of all is respectable, and that of the ministers is in no respect unusual. The color appropriate for religion is white, that of statesmanship red, of scholarship blue, of the working class green. Yet this fact does not affect Christians so much that they regard distinction of color greater than that of virtues and vices; nor do they regard indifferent ceremonies of such value that all care, examination, and sacred judgments should be annihilated by them. Is it because the vices of men are greater than we can oppose that we whittle straws and strain gnats just to be doing nothing? At Christianopolis, because they sow virtues and uproot vices, they confer regarding trifles at their leisure.

#### LXXXV. SACRED PSALMODY.

Music plays not at all the least part in divine worship with them, however much puritanical melancholy may object. They praise God chiefly with the voice, but also with sound of trumpet, harps and zither, drums and chorus, strings and measure, cymbals and various organs. The holy prophets thought this proper, and Christ neither advised against nor prohibited it. Thus Satan is mocked, who never rejoices with his own except when so doing will injure God's cause. They have many sacred songs, and that they may be able to sing them well together, they each bring along their little books and thus supplement their memory. In these songs they admire especially the spirit of the songs of Luther, though they do not spurn others. It is a pleasant thing to hear the whole congregation singing together in four or more parts, and yet not violating the time and rhythm of the composition. The practice of assembling daily for prayers makes this possible. That

which has to do with numbers possesses something divine and penetrating into the souls of man.' So all the best admire the poetry of David and hold it in high esteem, and favor also the poetry of to-day, if it is pure and Christian. Whosoever lowers the standard of this, is accused of abuse of his talent; whoever traces it down from its source, is considered by them as deserving to be crowned with laurel. Let no one believe that elegance in poetry is out of the question unless mentioning idols; let no one charge the sacred writings of crudeness. It is a trick of Satan, who perverts our hearing so that the music of the zither appeals to us less than the sound of the bagpipe. And what makes sacred song so powerless over us, makes it leap about so wantonly, other than the sluggishness within us toward the good, and the sensational tickle of evil? On the other hand, what quiets or disquiets our thoughts unless it be, respectively, the spirit of sacred song and the shamelessness of worldly music? Whatever genius the worldly songs may possess, they become useless under test of the cross; while however much simplicity the sacred ones have, they refresh the soul beyond belief though previously the words and syllables were neglected. Let us give thanks to God who is ever willing to be near the silent or the prayerful, the grieving and the singing, and willing to hear them compassionately.

#### LXXXVI. THE SACRAMENTS.

The sacraments are administered as instituted by Christ and according to the rites of the early church; frequently, because of their great value; reverently, on account of their high dignity; elaborately, because they are observed by the devout. When children are baptized in the name of the Trinity, they have witnesses of their faith and obligation, first of all the father, but also an honorable married couple and absent friends are bidden; and all these pledge their faith for the sacrament and charge themselves with the care. For they say that godparents should stand in the place of the parents and should render an account to God for their spiritual children. The observation of a guardian should not be more diligent than that of a godfather; while their mutual love will be perchance the greater, as the bonds uniting them through Christ are closer. Those who here seek gold commit a grave fault; those counsel most wisely who require the best observers for their children and monitors of their virtues. As often as the holy supper is offered, as it invites all, so also unless actual necessity prevents, all attend and thus bear witness to their peace with men. The elements consisting of unleavened bread and wine are given at the altar where a haughty countenance can make no change. As many as approach bring along a contrite heart, a faithful soul, and a body ready for correction, and a little later they show by actual deed what they have promised. This is their most welcome tribunal where offenses are adjudged and removed. For he who can be angry at his brother to deny God or not to accept Him, such a man is a horror to the state and not at all to be tolerated. Then also those stand here who, after having given way to the deceits of the Devil, have again become reconciled to the church; and for their salvation and repentance they are as heartily congratulated as they were lamented at their fall. And especially do they see to it that no crime be charged to church or state; but they free and cleanse themselves and others with the Christian expiation. Those who neglect this, are crushed by their own and others' misdeeds. There was a time when evildoers were interceded for before the church; now, as this turned out evilly, it is different. And yet the world boasts that there is nothing more severe and consistent than her discipline. But this praise surely our predecessors bear; what we shall do, our posterity will speak of sometime, if there be any.

#### LXXXVII. ABSOLUTION AND EXCOMMUNICATIO

The keys which Christ left for binding and loosing, they preserve very religiously, while others use the one to the extreme and hide the other; so that it is said of them that they use the former up and lose the latter. The inhabitants of Christianopolis confess the sum of their sins singly, many of them even into the ears of a friend for there is no one among them without a rather close friend<sup>^</sup> or into the ears of a clergyman; and by this frankness they say that their burdens are very

much lightened. Through His ministry, Christ promised clemency in return for earnest repentance, eager faith, and careful amendment, but He threatens strict justice for dissembling. There is no fear lest anyone grow up ignorant of the Christian religion, since this is required in the school, and carefully attended to. Moreover, that the consciences may be strengthened, many ministers are chosen to this very duty, but only such as are remarkable for innocence of life and fervor of spirit. If anyone distrusts men, no one is urged to reveal his secrets, but he is left to God, the reader of hearts. Against backsliders, especially those who remain stiff-necked after the vain warnings of brothers, fathers, and civil authorities, they pronounce the wrath of God, ban of the church, disgust of the state, and the abhorrence of every good man, with such success that it seems as if they have been shut off from the universe, that is, all the creatures of God. They consider this more severe than death and they all make great effort for the recovery of such a man. If at last he continues to resist and is stubborn, they expel him from the republic. Before this is done they tax him with the most extreme and debased labors or even with blows, by which means they prefer to punish the sins, than spill his blood, as far as this is permitted. Surely the world accomplishes little when it freely punishes the evildoers with fine, disgrace, or death and does not shake the lethargy out of their lives by which alone they are so rapidly driven to destruction, nor breaks their wantonness with hunger and work that they may either recover or be restrained. Poor indeed is that physician who is more ready to burn and to cut, than to cleanse and to revive. Nowhere will a republic be found more fortunate than such a one which preserves as many of its citizens as possible and destroys the least possible number. The chief aim of such a state is: that after divine reverence has been inculcated and the foulness of sin exposed we learn earlier to be unwilling to sin, than not to dare to; but if we do dare then that we be not able; and if we break through absolutely, that we be compelled to atone for our acts and cleanse ourselves.

#### LXXXVIII. MATRIMONY.

Matrimony is undertaken by them with great devotion, approached with great caution, cherished with great gentleness, regarded with great consideration. Yet it is nowhere safer to get married than here. For as the unusualness of the dowry and the uncertainty of daily bread are lacking, it remains only that the value of virtues and sometimes of beauty be made. It is permitted a youth of twenty-four years to marry a girl not under eighteen, but not without the consent of the parents, consultation of the relatives, approbation of the laws, and benediction of God. There is with them the greatest reverence of relationship of blood. The factors considered in joining in marriage are for the most part conformity of natures and propriety; but also, a thing that is elsewhere so rare, recommendation of piety. The greatest fault is considered to be impurity and the laws against such offenders are severe. But by removing opportunities they easily eliminate the sins. The marriages have almost no expense or noise; they do not at all expect worldly foolishness and senselessness. Young men conduct the groom and young women the bride, and they all show their approbation with heart and prayer, when the bond has been joined. Then the parents of both and the nearest relatives come together, shake hands and remind the newly married couple of the value of agreement, work, and moderation, but especially of devotion and patience. And so without any drunkenness, which usually initiates all sacred functions elsewhere, but not without a hymn and Christian congratulations, they are married. There is no dowry at all except the promises of Christ, the example of parents, the knowledge acquired by both, and the joy of peace. Furniture is provided together with the house out of the public store. In this summary fashion they render most safe and speedy, our cross, punishment, torment, purgatory, and however else we are accustomed to call inauspicious marriages. If now there should be any unpleasantness, the difficulties are smoothed and ironed out from the experiences of all the friends; meantime no infidelity comes up, for it is severely punished. The grief which God feels at our desertion, He has not expressed more forcibly than in the case of the forgetting of parental and conjugal love. He has proved His justice with His zeal, in that we may abhor ingratitude and faithlessness, and punish them at the same time. Since the world has turned these two enormities into a joke, there are always worse conditions that follow upon bad ones, always persons who will later outdo former

impostors. Hence so many evils of impurity which pour out vices, confuse the dowry-gifts, surround the family with diseases, pour down curses, scatter disgrace, slacken the conscience, cause repletion, scatter filth, squander wealth, call forth the threats of the Master, sow desperation, loose punishment.

LXXXIX.  
WOMEN.

The married women make use of the knowledge which they acquired while in college. For whatsoever human industry accomplishes by working with silk, wool, or flax, this is the material for woman's arts and is at her disposal. So they learn to sew, to spin, to embroider, to weave, and to decorate their work in various ways. Tapestry is their handiwork, clothes their regular work, washing their duty. In addition to this they care for the house and the kitchen and have them clean. Whatever scholarship they have, being mentally gifted, they improve diligently, not only to know something themselves, but that they may sometime also teach. In the church and in the council hall they have no voice, yet none the less do they mold the piety and morals, none the less do they shine with the gifts of heaven. God has denied this sex nothing, if it is pious, of which fact the eternally blessed Mary is a most glorious example. If we read the histories, we shall find that no virtue has been inaccessible to women, and there is none in which they have not excelled. However, rarely do many of them comprehend the value of silence. Yet we have some whom we might compare with or even prefer to men real Monicas, 1 dedicated to the church, pleasing to their parents, peaceful with their husbands, observing the rites of widowhood, generous toward their children, courteous toward their friends, useful toward those in want, neighborly to all. Among these, filial loyalty requires that I mention my mother. The cases elsewhere, in which very many women are too lordly, are rather the fault of those men who are effeminate enough to marry such masculine women. There is nothing more dangerous than situations where the women rule in secret and the men obey openly; on the other hand, nothing is more desirable than that each party takes charge of his or her special duty. It is a rare thing among them, and not at all considered a manly act, for the husband to beat his wife; and the wife who is flogged is rather disgraced among her acquaintances. Their greatest boast is that of peace in the family. It is a monstrous thing to be joined in body and to disagree in spirit. Women have no adornments except that mentioned by Peter; 1 no dominion except over household matters; no permission to do servants' work (a thing that will surprise you), unless disease or some accident demands it. No woman is ashamed of her household duties, nor does she tire of attending to the wants of her husband. Likewise no husband of whatsoever employment thinks himself above honorable labors. For to be wise and to work are not incompatible if there is moderation. Within reasonable bounds, nothing is more sensible than to further the public good with word and deed.

XC.  
CHILDBIRTH.

The crowning accomplishment of women is bearing children, in which they take precedence of all the athletes of the earth; unless mayhap it would seem of greater importance to kill a human being than to give birth to one. It is certainly little short of the miraculous for a woman to bear such pains, and for the child to survive the great dangers. When a child is born the friends offer as congratulation the hope of the heavenly kingdom, they sympathize in the miseries that must be borne in the meantime. But this fact exceeds all others in importance, that we have been reborn by the birth of Christ into life, we who are doomed to die. They have no birthday banquet; for I have already mentioned that they can dispense with wine in their sacred and solemn ceremonies, a thing that others do not wish to do. Midwives are held in the highest regard, but none except the most capable are considered. The more religious a woman is, the more fitted for this office, provided of course the scientific knowledge is not lacking. Unless the case demands it, they do not tolerate nurses, for they desire that the children drink the milk of the mothers. Those who have charge of women in labor and the infants, are for the most part widows, whose special duty this is.

There are also young women who take care of children. Baptism is administered in the presence of the congregation unless the child is dangerously ill. If it is deprived of the rite, they know that the seed of the faithful has been washed clean by the blood of Christ, and so they hope for the best. The period of confinement is forty-two days, after the expiration of which they give solemn thanks to God. During these days, lighter food, as is fitting, is brought from the public commissary. For the medical skill even of the women is by no means without results. Meanwhile if the husbands wish to live apart, they can; if not, they are not driven out. They have the greatest desire for conjugal chastity, and they set a premium upon it, that they may not injure or weaken themselves by too frequent intercourse. To beget children is quite proper; but passion of license is a disgrace. Others live together like beasts; yet even the cattle have characteristics which put such persons to shame, who might better with mutual love and mutual aid first care for heaven and later for things of the earth. So the citizens of Christianopolis believe that there may be to a certain extent fornication and pollution even in marriage. Oh, the carnalminded who are not ashamed to make sin out of lawful as well as unlawful practices! But what can we do, when there are on all sides places for feasting and places of allurements, when even the very names of fasting, temperance, vigilance, and work among us are held in suspicion, or are unknown? And so it happens that while we are dreaming that all things are permitted us, we take no pleasure in the things that are really good and healthful, pure and undefiled.

XCI.  
WIDOWHOOD.

Since no bond survives death, even the closest marriages are dissolved. If a husband dies, his widow leaves the house and withdraws into the home for widows, where she serves the state in some capacity, and marries again if she likes, but not before the expiration of a year, out of respect for her former love. If a woman dies, her widower eats with a neighbor or with others in the public house, till after a year he may marry again. There is no danger at all for the orphans, since all children are brought up with equal care V in the college. For there is no one in this republic who has only individual parents. The state itself is a parent to each. The regard of widows is in accordance with their devotion, self-restraint, and industry. So they are honored like mothers, and are employed in bringing up the girls. For it is fitting that those who have experienced the emptiness of this world should advise those who are less protected, should restrain, and correct them. For Satan never operates against us with his secret devices more easily than when he promises pure joys, where in reality there is least of pleasure, very much pain and disgust. Hence as many as take their delight in lusts of the flesh or follow the ways of beasts, we must rightly consider them either entirely without experience or lacking in their senses. It is madness to value the known world, foolishness to long for the unknown. So this is the duty of widowhood, to lessen the reputed value of the flesh among the inexperienced, to curb lustful desires among those who value impurity, since they show by their own example that it is not always necessary to follow after the flesh, nay that it is far better to abstain for reasons of personal advantage, spiritual as well as civil. We may grow warm, but in such a manner that the spirit shall not catch fire; let us restrain the warmth but without extinguishing the spirit; we may grow cool, without allowing the body to freeze; let us keep ourselves warm, yet not so as to kindle the body. Luxury displeases God, marriage pleases Him, widowhood is honored, and virginity is precious to Him. The highest grace and the greatest excellence of a chaste man is Christ's confession of the closest union with him.

XCII.  
THE COUNCIL HALL.

The council hall is situated above the temple, and is intended for the rarest and most august and solemn meetings. In these meetings the highest rulers are created and enter into mutual faith with the people. Here the statutes of the republic are read, here ambassadors from foreign parts are heard. It is of the greatest splendor, either to uphold the majesty of the republic, or that through

the eyes it may teach generosity of disposition. For as the history of the earth is expressed here in various ways, so also those shine most brightly who deserve best in the affairs of men. Here I saw among the heroes John Frederick, Elector of Saxony, and of my own sovereigns, Christopher, Duke of Wurtemberg, most Christian princes, and others of no less virtues. Here were expressed alternately the advantages and disadvantages of the governing virtue or vice; on the one side the very essence of watchfulness, tares of inactivity, light of humility, whirl of undesirable ambition; on the other side power of love, slipperiness of tyranny, result of good example, chaos of dissoluteness; elsewhere the simplicity of truth, the sound of sophistry, elegance of refinement, the clattering crudeness of barbarism. The form of the divine, of the Christian, of the human, and the Satanic kingdoms, their likenesses and differences, laws and affairs were all here represented, and the result whether fortunate or sad was everywhere attached. Here was shown the likeness of the last judgment in its glad as well as in its horrifying phases, with the rewards of virtues and the punishments for vices all skillfully represented. What shall I say? It seems to me that I saw here, or nowhere ever, the real microcosmos, not with lavish extravagance, but devoted to the real education of man. If now we compare with these the heaven of the gods, the earth of the satyrs, the sea of Neptune, and the Hades of Pluto, how we will grow cool and how we will be laughed at that the human mind stands forth and comes into the open in nothing except foolish fables and dreams, and yet wishes to preserve among men the opinion and reputation of divine culture, love of country, and of scholarly skill.

#### XCIII. THE COUNCILMEN.

The councilors are the most distinguished of all the citizens, conspicuous for their piety, honesty, and industry, and tried out by long experience. In number they are twenty-four, chosen equally from the three orders, honored as well as loved by the citizens because of their high regard for the state. The citizens have elevated these not to remove them from all virtues, but to appoint them as lights of the same, as it were, to all the rest. So they all have a zeal for religion, peace, and learning, out of which comes an abundance of all good things. The councilors take no pleasure in strutting before others, sucking the sap out of others' goods, or fattening lazily. But as the sun shines, so they brighten everyone, consult for all, work for all. If anything rather serious takes place, they themselves pray to God eagerly and require prayers of the people also. They observe the praiseworthy deeds of their predecessors very carefully, and transmit them inviolate to their descendants. I have nowhere seen a more diligent investigation of the past, nowhere a more solicitous care for the future. Hence they examine the present according to models, and if they find that they are deteriorating a single bit, they repair the matter. If on the other hand a thing can be improved in method, they rejoice greatly that opportunity has been given to bear testimony to posterity that they have not lived in vain. Yet they judge this thought to be a praiseworthy one, if they have preserved the flower and safety of the state. No one departs from the path of their former national life lest it might seem that they have become a different people, instead of being the same race, with a more approved skill in their duties. And so a fitting place of honor is preserved for labor and respectable occupation. As they honor the feeble more, so they burden them less, and the younger serve as their prop; so they have twelve additional extraordinary substitutes. If any one of these commits an unusually grave offense, though they say this can hardly occur, he is removed from his position, and the matter seriously looked into. The reward of all is the consciousness of right, in which they exult, namely, that they have been able with divine assistance to propagate the Gospel, to protect their subjects, to ennoble the youth, adorn the land, and to increase the number of dwellers in heaven.

#### XCIV. THE GARDENS.

Around the college is a double row of gardens, one general and the other divided into plots corresponding to the homes of the citizens; both are fitted out with more than a thousand different

sorts of vegetables in such a way that they represent a living herbarium. They are not permitted to confuse the order of the distribution of the plants, which by the skill of the gardener are made to conform to the various zones of the sky, a wonderful and clever combination of colors, representing as it were a painted plate. They have here a number of birds in cages and the bees in their hives are very carefully tended. The plants that are for medicine, cooking, or decorative purposes are all in separate plots. Hence they furnish various uses and pleasures, fragrance, purifying of the air, honey, drugs, harmonious song of birds, and information. There is plenty of water, which is carried by artistically arranged pipes, nor is the music out of harmony with the water. But they avoid all too great expense. Outside the walls they have their very extensive gardens, in which they raise crops for food purposes, for the others have been planted rather for their elegance. Moreover they learn here to judge the value of human beauty, which is the flower-gathering of a single year. We are born, we grow up, we are in our prime, we droop, and pine away. Out of our death there is again the rise and increase of others. Oh, happy are those who among the wholesome plants learn also to trust in God who feeds the flowers -and clothes them without any care on their part; who learn to note down the variety and diverseness of His gifts, and to connect their pleasant odor with God! But why enumerate what man should learn from the creatures of God, when the smallest leaf contains the whole lesson? Rather let us wonder at those who, though they love the earth most of all, neglect entirely that which is the best of the earth, its use and beautiful decoration. Yet they are not willing to seem to burden the earth, though they tread it with crude feet. Let us lament the lost paradise and long for its restoration. For though we look upon natural objects now with faulty vision, when our sight has been restored through the cross, we will behold all things not on the surface, but in their inmost depths.

XCV.  
WATER.

Christianopolis has water as well as excellent land. I will not now mention navigation in the presence of some who, like fungi, never move from their place. Perhaps sometime I will go into this in detail. Now I must explain what service they have as regards drinking and washing. An abundant supply of very clear water has been introduced into the city which they have distributed first into the streets and then into the houses, so that water abounds everywhere and can be obtained close at hand. Next, by means of underground canals, they have conducted the outlet streams of a lake through the alleys, so that the flowing water frees the houses of their daily accumulations, a scheme that is more conducive to public health than anything else easily thought of. Whence those seem to me to be very wise who want man not only when crested and plumed, that is, dressed according to modesty and fashion, but also when naked and convinced of human necessity, assisted and liberally provided for. For as these conditions accuse us to ourselves and draw us down from the lofty halls of our imagination to the filthiness of our mire, so they also advise us of reasons why we should not live uncleanly. Hence they have baths, that have been in use from early times. But for the most part the baths are private and only those for the children are public, for they fear the temptations of nudity. Then there are sanitary washrooms in quiet places; also washing of clothes, which man soils in various ways; and other arrangements for keeping men clean. Oh, this body of ours! How unclean, how polluted, how moist, how sweaty, how decayed, how filthy! And yet it pleases the soul, dictates to it, wears it out, and at last crushes it! Pity us, Oh Thou source of life, wash and purify that uncleanness, this body of ours, the impure blood, with Thy most holy blood, that we who are so ugly in our impurity may be dressed in the robe of Thine innocence and rendered acceptable in the sight of God; that we may not be ashamed when Thou shalt return to each one according to his deeds!

XCVI.  
THE AGED.

The aged of both sexes stand in the highest esteem, and so they take especial care that they be not afflicted with any trouble, as old age is in itself a disease. So they have appointed people who

nurse them, cheer them up, honor and consult them. For since the powers of mind and body fail them together, they have to be kept bolstered up and inspired with young blood; for they grow weak on account of the disgust of human life, and at the memory of so many accidental injuries, and so many errors of their own. Since with great labor and merit toward the republic they have discharged their duties with noticeable faith and care, even up to decrepit old age, no amount of honor and respect is considered enough in gratitude. And since finally they do possess the greatest truths of human life, not merely by way of some subtlety of theory, but through rough practice and experience of material difficulties, nothing can be thought up so ingenious and subtle that when rubbed against the whetstone of old age, it will not give up much of its own opinion, and accommodate itself more nearly to human conditions. If any of the youth but knew with what mistakes, sweat, shame, dangers, and snares the old people have acquired these truths, all of which they have buried within them and which they keep under the one word cave, beware! never would they be so thoughtless as to laugh at the advice of the old, and admire their own plans. But old people also have this advantage, that since they have sent such a throng of acquaintances ahead to their rest; since they have seen the good eventually ascend and very many evil fall; since they have observed the kingdom of God and the little ship of the church stand against the attacks and storms of Satan, and finally triumph; since they have noticed the increasing offspring of virtues and the fruits of piety, they also gladly lay themselves down to the end of life, commend to all the naturalness and ease of death, and precede them all in their familiarity with death. For inasmuch as all our study and all our wisdom are nothing but a consideration of death, it is befitting that those who have spent the most time therein, should be of all mortals the most experienced in matters relating to death.

#### XCVII.

#### FOREIGNERS AND PAUPERS.

Toward strangers and foreigners they show the greatest kindness and generosity, of which I myself, a man in the deepest straits, am an evident example. Yet they are careful that the citizens do not contract any contagious disease as a result of too great liberty on the part of the guests. Evil practices of taverns, elsewhere so common, are unheard of and unknown to them; and if they did know of them, they would heartily disapprove of them. They keep a guest frugally for a day or two; an exile they support for a long time; and a sick person they care for very kindly. They help the poor sufficiently and do not allow them to leave without material aid. However, they examine them all very closely in their words and behavior, and then do their charity. No beggar is known or tolerated; for they judge that if anyone is really in need, the republic ought not to have to be warned of its duty; neither of which however can happen, and this is right. If a person is physically strong, he is never permitted to deny the republic his efforts, and these are sufficient for the food he gets. Yet elsewhere both these provisions are neglected. For when not rarely those persons starve who accomplish the most hard work, and when breaking down under their load they are deserted and cast aside; on the other hand when those who have basely rejected their heavenly gifts, and who escape all sweat on account of weakness of their flesh, when they are supported for the most part out of the state funds it cannot but be that the "bread snatched from the children is being cast before the dogs." In this respect we are altogether bound by the rule of the world; for the wealth of the world for the most part, serves the purposes of wickedness and extravagance, rarely, and then very injuriously, giving aid to the works of Christ; and so it is exposed to the thievery of impostors, jugglers, quacks, tramp musicians, and hair dressers, that Christ may appear to be disgusted that such wrongly collected property should have been allowed to pass to so wicked an owner. Meantime, Christ does not lack means to support His own, for whom there is plenty even in their want. Nor are persons wanting who take off their clothes, throw them down, and strew the road for Christ. I myself, though I have always found the world greedy, stingy, and base toward me, have learned among the citizens of Christianopolis that there are still some who, for the sake of Christ and through Christ, desire very much to share their all.

#### XCVIII.

the sick.

As diseases are of various kinds, so also ought our piety be manifold. The citizens of Christianopolis have observed this particularly, who have learned how to care for and comfort the souls, minds, and bodies that are afflicted. All of them strive to be able to come to their own and other people's assistance in case of need. Medicine, surgery, and the kitchen are all equally at the disposal of the sick, and everyone is prompt to assist. He who stands high socially does not exhaust the supply of drugs, while the lowly do not suffer for want of alleviation; crowds of physicians do not linger around the great, nor does loneliness afflict the common people. Yet after all, more rich people on earth are made away with than poor. Married women and widows here have the greatest opportunity and skill, and the state very kindly commends to them the care of the sick; they even have hospitals intended to take care of them. Along with the rest of the medicine they are also accustomed to cheer the spirits of the sick and to remind them of their former strength, lest they lack Christian fortitude. Then they bid them heed their usual moderation that they may not indulge their agitated bodies too far. And last also they urge them toward obedience to the instructions of medical attendance that they may not refuse to accept the unpleasantness of care imposed upon them. With these three the cross of Christ is received, lifted up, and borne. When a plague rages it is wonderful to relate how little effort there is to escape; they await the hand of God. For he who believes that the amount of God's good will is limited, never understands how he may remove himself and withdraw. Persons whose minds are unbalanced or injured they suffer to remain among them, if this is advisable; otherwise, they are kindly cared for elsewhere. This is what is done in case of the violent; for reason commands that human society should be more gently disposed toward those who have been less kindly treated by nature. For even we are not just as God would have us; yet, such as we are, He sustains us with limitless clemency and longsuffering.

XCIX.  
death.

Who will say that those in Christianopolis, though they live correctly, have an unsatisfactory death? Nay, since they die daily, who would doubt that sometime they shall live forever? More than any other this republic does not know death, and yet acts on such confidential terms with it. When they compose themselves to " sleep " for so they call death they are very collected. They bear witness to their religion and regard Christ as a pledge of their faith. They also bear testimony to their love of country and seal this with a pious prayer. The rest they leave to God. They have no need of testaments, yet if they have any last wishes, they mention them to their friends. While one is struggling with death, public prayers are sent up for the victory of the Christian warrior. If a soul is in anguish, witnesses of divine truth are at hand and interpreters who demonstrate that God wishes all Christians well. If they suffer physical torment, the assurance of future comfort, health, and everlasting glory counterbalances this. Why do I explain this at such length! Fitting words and deeds are necessary in each individual case, and these are given. Many are present at the deathbed, that they may witness the critical change from human to Christian life. For a single example will accomplish what no warnings can do with us. Yet in their humility and state of equality they have little of which death could deprive them; while our very body is too valuable to us, out of which we are not driven without trembling and which we are horrified to leave behind us. With a whole soul they pray that God, before whom they are about to stand, may be kindly disposed to the departed, and in the place of useless complaint they commend the soul to Him with an appropriate hymn. Finally they pray that when it shall be pleasing to God, they also may find their peaceful sleep with a contrite and faithful heart, one firmly founded on Jesus Christ.

C  
BURIAL.

The lifeless body they dress in a white robe, and on the day following the death they bear it away with uncovered face; large numbers of people accompany it. Young people sing sacred songs of Prudentius, 1 and other hymns. The nearest relatives follow, for the most part, with calm face, and wearing their usual clothes. For they say that congratulations are more befitting a Christian than grief; and that such sad manifestations have no other result than to weaken the survivors. After the body has been lowered into the grave and covered with the earth from whence it came, they hear the Word of God, intended to give them a cheerful attitude toward death, and to inform them as to life. Rarely is an epitaph of the deceased left, for they say that this can hardly be done with fairness. Such as each one has been, God knows; and posterity will transmit the facts. And this is safer than an inscription that has been bought, forced, or composed. A biographical sketch of those especially deserving is kept in their records, and the fact that these are few speaks more loudly than with us where the great number and immense crowd of heroes renders the record suspicious. The cemetery is very spacious and beautiful, but outside the city; for they consider the city to be for the living. I saw a representation of Death leading every order of flesh to the grave, skillfully and ingeniously painted on the walls. No one has any sort of a marker except an iron cross stamped with the name of the deceased. From this the descendants count their ancestors. When this becomes too old it is removed and the name is inscribed in the funeral volume, where it can be more easily found. It is not surprising that they are somewhat careless in these matters, since they count this life of least value and long for the other. So neither these ideas nor other peculiarities of theirs ought to seem absurd to us; since it stands to reason that whoever has a desire for a future blessed life ought indeed believe with us, but must live differently in every respect.

My Christian reader, these are the things which I saw and heard in that blessed republic of God, and which I frankly confess I learned. The thing that grieves me especially is that my memory does not suffice for the great variety of things and that I have not the eloquence to express the things which I do remember; so you will easily see that I am no historian. Moreover I wish now that I had the style of those who can tell more than they saw. As for me, I confess that I can never tell all. So if I have not understood their meaning nor given account of their institution with sufficient skill, there is reason why I should regret my lack of perceptive power and why I should warn my readers not to attribute any fault to the citizens of Christianopolis, but rather to me. It may have happened and I really fear it has that I have overestimated the value of less important matters, and undervalued greater ones; that I have told things in reverse order; that I became confused as a result of my admiration of them; that I was not admitted into the inside of their government. What would you have of me? I am a young man who has not as yet grasped the significance of the secrets of statesmanship, but I look at only the external elegance. And if I should ever be permitted to penetrate into these, my desire to communicate my observations to others will not be lacking. It remains now that we hear in what manner I departed from that place. God forbid that I should ever suffer myself to be separated from this republic!

Well, when I had inspected everything, I was brought back to the chancellor that I might report to him how I felt toward the citizens. " My friend/" said he to me, " you have seen how and where we live. As all human things are imperfect, we have not been able to show you anything beyond our mortal lot; but we have lessened the burdens of our mortality, we trust, and according to the pattern which we have showed you. We chose it not because it was more perfect than all others, but perhaps because it was easier. Whatever disadvantages are connected with it, are gradually removed by the vigilance of the administration. If it is the object of life to praise God and love our brothers, then the trifles of human life will not be of such great moment that they \ will render Christians anxious and trouble them. When you shall have returned to your own people pray be a most gentle and moderate interpreter in all respects. We aspire to no praise; we deprecate jealousy; or, if it cannot be helped, we bear it. Our huts are our own care, let others see to their palaces. If they rage against us, we will pray that the sea may not convey them to us. We worship the same God, profess the same religion. If our customs are different, it should not be regarded a crime, as we live in a different quarter of the world. We do not force our manners upon others, nor

do we defend them to the limit. Let those who are better than we, judge us, teach us, criticise us; they will find that we are no less teachable than we are patient. If they can find valid excuses for all their conditions we will bring accusation against our own, and will urgently require better. Meantime let them be patient with the contradictory teachings of a single very small island. Do you remain ours, we pray, here and elsewhere."

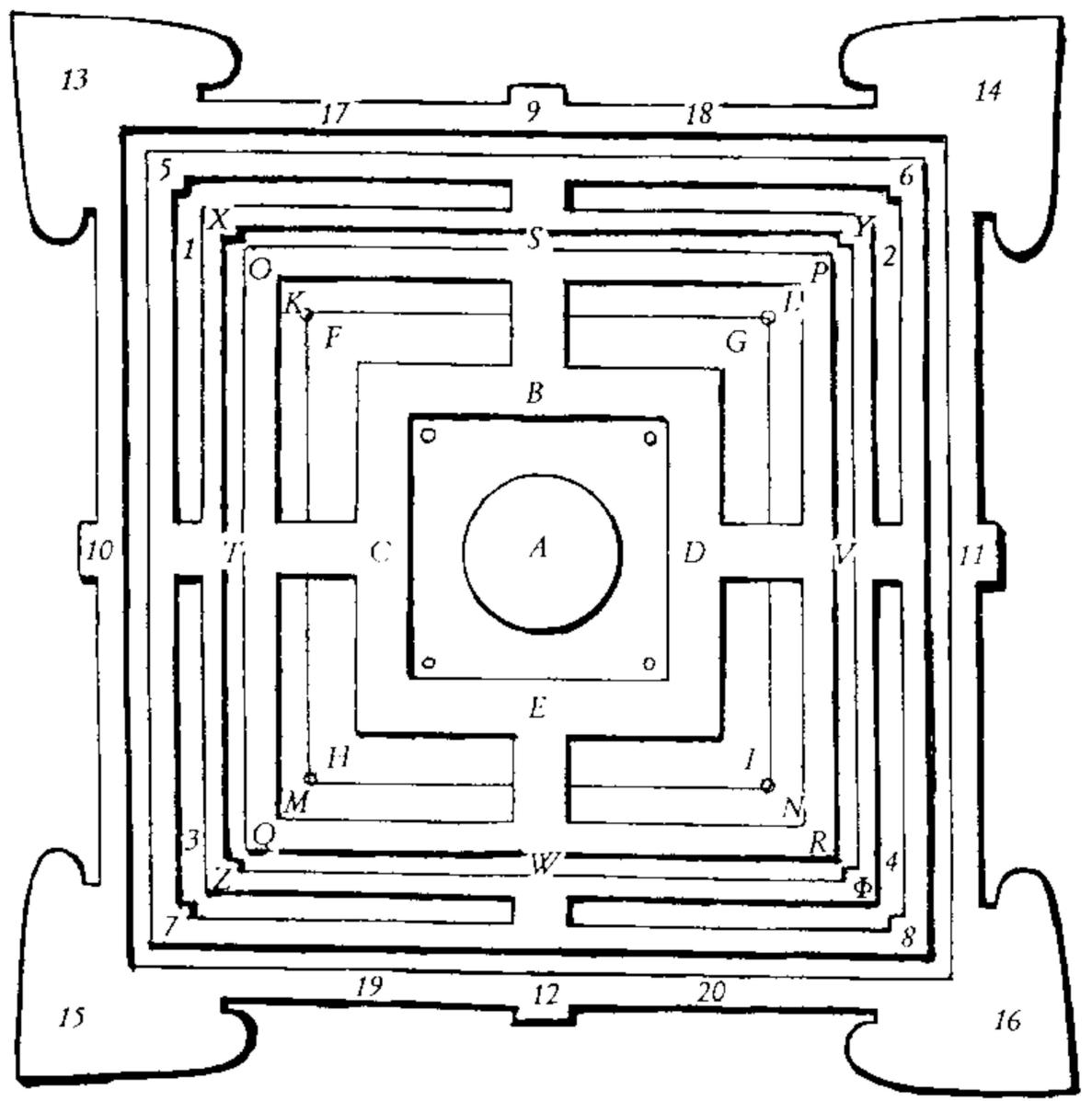
I did not restrain the tears when I compared the kindness of this man with the stubbornness of others, and I said with trembling voice: " Whatever my people may call me, I will be yours. To you I dedicate this body of mine, since nothing else is left me, that my mind may be freer. Permit that I return to my people and secure an honorable release lest I hear myself called 1 fugitive." " Here the chancellor laughed and said: " Oh you, who are so anxious to comply with the past, yet so timid as to the future! But go, my guest, whithersoever you will, and compare our republic with other better ones, that you may report to us the good and advantageous points which you shall find elsewhere. For we desire not to be preferred to others, merely to be compared with them. No one will be a better friend to us than he who shall make our state conform more nearly to the kingdom of heaven, or (what is the same) remove it farther from the world/ Hence we have long wished for an abode situated below the sky, but at the same time above the dregs of this known world." Then I answered: " Unless I am entirely deceived, the place where I shall rest will be with you. If any other land has better conditions, perchance I am not worthy to enjoy them. To this, your republic, I dedicate my labors, my studies, my wishes, my prayers. I give up the guidance of myself to you, who have learned how to control others. I will eat and drink, sleep and watch, speak and be silent at your command. I will worship and adore God with you. Now I ask but one favor, that I may be permitted to invite my friends, excellent men, who are scattered throughout the countries of the world, to come with me also." " By all means," replied the chancellor, " for we do not live too crowded to be able to accommodate a whole boat load of honest men."

While he spoke thus the twelfth hour, noon, sounded forth, and the sweet melody of bells was heard, which is the warning for solemn prayer. So he saluted me in farewell, bade me go in the name of the Master, and return safe under the guidance of God, bringing along as many comrades as possible. And as he extended to me the right hand of Christ's love, he said: " Take heed, my brother, that you do not give yourself over to the world again, and estrange yourself from us." And I answered heartily: " Where thou goest I will go, thy people shall be my people, and thy God, my God. Where thou diest, I will die, and there will I be buried. And so may Jehovah be propitious to me, as death alone shall divide me from thee! " Then I received from him the benediction, with the kiss of peace, and I went away, and am now walking about among you, that, if this republic pleases you, this worship of God, this intercourse of men, this form of education, you may go thither with me at an early day in the name of God. Farewell, and be strong in Christ.

FINIS.

*A Temple with Civic Centre*  
*BCDE College*  
*FGHI Physic Garden*  
*KLMN Gardens of the Citizens*  
*OPQR Inner row of apartments*  
*SIVW Open streets*  
*oo Location of fountains*

*XYZΦ Outer row of apartments*  
*1.2.3.4 Gardens*  
*5.6.7.8 Workshops & Stores*  
*9.10.11.12 Four Gates*  
*13.14.15.16 Bastions*  
*17.18.19.20 Boundaries*



A. SHESHAZZAR  
B. NERIAH  
C. TIRHANAH  
D. URIEL

I. ABI-ALBON (*religion*)  
J. ABIESER (*Judge*)  
K. ABIDA (*education*)

E. GADDIEL  
F. ZAREPHATH  
G. SHIMEAH  
H. KABZEEL

L. *The DEACON*  
M. *The ŒCONOMIST*  
N. *The CHANCELLOR*

